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# Higher Education and Political Transition: The University of Macau in Comparative Perspective

Cheng-man Diana LAU

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the requirements for the Degree of Doctorate in Education

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## Abstract

This thesis is a comparative analysis of the evolution of the University of Macau in the period 1981 to 2003. Like many colonies in Asia, Macau experienced decolonisation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It departed from Portuguese administration and reunited with the People's Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region. The Beijing government uses the "one country, two systems" approach to govern the city after 1999. Within this political context, the higher education sector of Macau is expected to have significant changes. This thesis analyses the development of the university before and since the change of governance in 1999. It traces the policies which were realised in the changes over time and relates the analysis to trends in the evolution of colonial and post-colonial universities in Asia.

This thesis draws upon in depth interviews with key figures in the development of the university, on historical and current policy and other documents. Among all the people who have worked at the university since the colonial period, seven were selected as informants for this study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to find out their personal feelings and analyses about the impact of political transition on the university. The questions asked were formulated based on the colonisation and decolonisation theories noted in the literature. The answers were analysed by using open, axial, and selective coding.

The results showed that the most significant changes in the university occurred when the Portuguese colonial government purchased the university from the original founders. Unlike most cases in the literature, the change of sovereignty has not brought many drastic changes. In addition, there was no intervention from the Chinese government regarding the development of the university.

The changes experienced by the university were compared with the analyses of developments in comparable literature. Similarities and diversities were identified. It illustrated that differences between Macau and the general trends were caused by the close historical relationship between Macau and China, the lenient social atmosphere of the territory, and the friendly relationship between China and Portugal during the transition.



## **Acknowledgements**

I wish to acknowledge my supervisor Professor Michael Byram for his continuous guidance, immaculate patience, and unfailing support. Over the past years, he has provided numerous insightful advice as well as encouragement, without which this thesis would not have been completed.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my seven informants who contributed their valuable time and opinions to this research. Due to ethical reason, I cannot name them here. But I want to say their willingness to participate in this research shows that there are many people who do care a lot about the development of higher education in Macau.

Last, but not the least, I wish to thank my family for their consideration and love.

## **Declaration**

This thesis results from my own work and has not been offered previously in candidature for any other degree in this or any university.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

UEA	University of East Asia
UM	University of Macau
PRC	People's Republic of China
SAR	Special Administrative Region
MPI	Macau Polytechnic Institute
IFT	Institute for Tourism Studies
ESFSM	Macau Security Force Superior School
CRUP	Conselho de Reitores das Universidades Portuguesas
IIUM	Inter-University Institute of Macau
IEEM	Institute for European Studies of Macau

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The sovereignty of Macau was returned to the People's Republic of China in December 1999. This political change marked the end of the Portuguese colonial rule and the beginning of a new administration. After the change, the city operates under the “one country, two systems” model. This is a special model designed by the central government to administer Hong Kong, Macau, and hopefully Taiwan. The successful implementation of this model in these three regions is an important political issue of China in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate in what ways political transition has impacted on the higher education system of Macau. A huge literature exists on education and political transition; and close study of specific situations shows differences in the ways that political changes have impacted on education and in the ways that educational changes have created on political changes (Bray and Lee, 1997b). The thesis contributes to the present literature by studying the case of Macau, which is now operating under the special political context. It illustrates how the “one country, two systems” principle is interpreted in the higher education sector. It also aims to identify the diversity and commonality of Macau with the general pattern noted in the literature.

### **1.1 Education and Political Transition**

Colonialism has been a common phenomenon in Asia. Altbach (1989) argues all major European nations were involved in the colonial enterprise – the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in India, Malaysia and Singapore, the Spanish in the Philippines, and the French in Vietnam. Japan became a coloniser when it occupied Korea and Taiwan. The coloniser dominated the colonised in political, military, economic, technological, and educational terms.

Among all these areas, colonialism's impact on education development of the Third World has been the most fascinating because the effect stretches over a long span of time and a wide scope of area. Colonisers have practised different



educational policies on their colonies. Watson (1982) notes that on the one hand, colonisers have been accused of paying too little attention to developing mass education, adult literacy, and higher education. On the other hand, colonisers were also responsible for developing the written forms of the vernacular languages, and the expansion of education for women.

The context of the indigenous societies also affects the form of colonial education being produced. Kelly (1984) argues that there is a complex interaction between the coloniser and the organisation of the local society. The interaction can create divergences in the patterns. In other words, education is not a one-way process. The impact of education relies on how people react to its implementation.

Watson (1982, p.25) mentions: “The Second World War marked a watershed for colonialism, especially in Asia, since the supremacy of Europe had been shown to be short-lived... Even so the concept of handing over power to the colonies varied considerably.” The era of decolonisation in Asia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century started with the termination of Japanese occupation in Korea and Taiwan, and ended with the changes of sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macau in the late 1990s (Bray and Lee, 1997a).

Decolonisation occurred in various forms. For instance, Taiwan gained its freedom from Japan in 1945. In 1949, the Chinese National Party was defeated by the Communist Party and fled the mainland. It established the government in Taiwan. Since then, the two parties have been in confrontational condition. Because of the political environment, Taiwan has been developing in a complex domestic and international context (Law, 1997a). Singapore has had a different experience. After its liberation from the Japanese, it went through stages of political transitions before it finally attained independence in 1965 (Kumnuch, 1996). As for Hong Kong and Macau, they departed from British and Portuguese rule respectively at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and reunited with the People’s Republic of China as two special administrative regions.

Besides differences in decolonisation patterns, these Asian countries also show great diversities in terms of economics, political systems, religion, geography, and colonial histories (Bray and Lee, 2001). These factors produce education systems that are dissimilar in terms of size, curriculum, and the nature of access.

Although there are diversities, Bray and Lee (1997a) identify some general patterns that are related to decolonisation in East Asian countries:

- There have been concerns about expansion and improvement in the quality of education.
- Education has been closely related to economic development.
- There has been a trend of privatisation of education.
- Many students from East Asian countries go abroad for higher education.

## **1.2 The Significance of Higher Education**

Altbach (1998, p. xi) argues:

One institution has always been global and continues to be a powerful force in the world after a half-millennium. This institution is the university. With its roots in medieval Europe, the modern university is at the center of an international knowledge system that encompasses technology, communications, and culture. The university remains the primary center of learning and the main repository of accumulated wisdom.

When colonisers exerted their power over the colonised, higher education was a means of interaction between the two. As noted, colonial experiences were different in Asian countries. Correspondingly colonisers imposed diverse higher education policies.

However, Altbach (*ibid.*, p.63-65) notes some general patterns:

- Colonial authorities always used the language of the mother country for higher education.
- Basic academic structures were patterned after metropolitan models, although there were subtle variations.
- The curriculum was very much like that of the metropole and was not relevant to the local societies.
- Many of the academic staff were from the metropole.

- Academic freedom was limited.
- The colonial universities were seedbeds of the emergence of the independent nations.
- The structures of communication of the colonial universities stressed contact with the metropole.

These features continued to influence Asia over a long period of time and they are important parameters for studying the situation of Macau.

As discussed, many Asian countries experienced political transitions after World War Two and changes were noted in the higher education systems. Most of the changes were related to the localisation of the system. For instance, Malaysia changed the medium of instruction from English to the local language. However, some Western elements remain intact (Altbach, *ibid.*):

- The influence of the English language is strong.
- A large number of Asian academics were educated in the West.
- There are a large number of expatriate professors.
- Textbooks are imported from the West.
- Western journals are significant sources of knowledge.
- Academic hierarchies, the structure of the curriculum, the system of examination, and the rhythm of academic life are Western in origin.

In general, within the context of decolonisation, Western influence on higher education continues to be pervasive and significant. Asian universities cannot simply shed the colonial heritage, which often brings benefits to the societies. On the other hand, they also need to adapt these features to the new political environment where they are gradually consolidating their own identities and answering the needs of the local people. Altbach (p. 75) notes: “The process of change, accommodation, and growth continues and the Western model continues to evolve.”

### 1.3 The City of Macau

Very few academics have researched on Macau (Bray and Packer, 1993). With its closeness to Hong Kong and similar ethnic composition, people may mistake the territory as one of the outlying islands of Hong Kong and disregard its own significance and uniqueness. Except for the studying of its political transition, probably this misguided attitude will carry on even longer.

Macau is different from other parts of Asia. The Portuguese have settled in Macau since 1557 but its colonial status has been debatable. Although treaties have been signed during the process, the status of the city has not been truly confirmed by both Portugal and China. In 1979, the People's Republic of China and Portugal established diplomatic relations and Macau was considered a "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration" (Pereira, 1991, p. 274). From a legal point of view, Macau was not a colony. But the Portuguese governed all sectors of the territory for hundreds of years. For the purpose of the thesis, the type of governance of Portugal over Macau will be treated as similar to that of colonisation although historians may have other opinions.

Macau is comparatively small. It now occupies 23.8 sq.km., and land reclamation is still taking place (Government Information Bureau, 2003a). As of December 31, 2000, its population numbered 438,000. 45% of the population were born locally and 45% were born in mainland China. Less than 10% of residents were from other places.

Macau's economy has been developing since the 1980s. In 1999 the GDP recorded USD6,150 million. Average per capita income was USD14,130. The four most important industries are gambling, manufacturing and export, finance and insurance, and real estate development. Gambling represents about 40% of government revenue (Government Information Bureau, 2003b).

Macau's smallness and its dependence on external markets play important roles in shaping its educational development. Ward (1975, cited in Bray and Packer, 1993) argues that small states are limited in natural resources, labour skills, financial resources, and entrepreneurs. Macau is no exception. The lack of these resources

poses challenges to its education system, which may not be experienced by other colonies.

#### **1.4 The University of Macau**

The University of Macau, formerly known as the University of East Asia, is selected as a case study for the thesis. Although this institution is only twenty years old, it has undergone significant changes, many of which are connected to the political environment.

The University of East Asia was inaugurated on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1981. It was a private institution founded by a group of Hong Kong investors. Then in 1987, the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration was signed. This declaration was a turning point to Macau's political outlook. According to this document, the People's Republic of China would resume exercise of sovereignty over Macau with effect from 20<sup>th</sup> December 1999. From this date onwards, Macau would become a Special Administrative Region, which could enjoy a high degree of autonomy.

Within this political context, the colonial government adopted an active approach towards higher education. In February 1988, the Governor of Macau and the Founder of the university signed a protocol. It set out the terms in which the Macau Foundation, an independent institution established by the government, would take over the Founder's assets in Macau. The assets in Hong Kong and elsewhere would remain in the hands of the Founder. In March 1988, a revised charter was adopted by the University's Board of Trustees. And on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1988, all the provisions of the revised charter would take full effect, and by this date the private university became a public university. Then three years later in 1991, the university was renamed the University of Macau according to Law no. 50/91M.

The purpose of the university, therefore, changed dramatically from serving a wide "East Asia" region to focusing on training and development of human resources in Macau. Following the change of sovereignty, the university also stepped into a new era within the decolonisation context.



## 1.5 Objectives of the Thesis

As noted earlier, political transition and education are closely related. Political transition has a great impact on education, and sometimes education can also affect politics. Although there is a huge literature on this theme, it is still important to study specific situations because each case demonstrates similar as well as diverse features. This thesis chooses to study Macau because it is a city chosen by the Chinese government to test the “one country, two systems” model. It is a city, which can exemplify the feasibility of this model. Due to the fact that this model is of immense political value to China, Macau’s development should also be intensively researched.

This thesis investigates the effects of colonisation and decolonisation on higher education by looking through the eyes of the subjects, who have themselves undergone the process. The University of Macau is selected as a case study because it is the oldest tertiary institution in the territory and its changes are to a great extent closely connected to the changes in the political context. There are other tertiary institutions in Macau, which have potential for future research.

This thesis investigates and analyses the adjustments that the university has to make so as to respond to the alternating demands in different political situations and the profound rationales behind these issues. The development of the university will be compared with the generalised pattern of other colonies to seek commonalities and diversities.

Similar to many colonies, Macau faces a fundamental problem – how to decolonise the process of modernisation without ending it (Mazrui, 1984). After the change of sovereignty, Macau needs to re-assess its position so that it can perform most effectively as a SAR. Under this political framework, should the university continue to maintain its colonial features or should it integrate itself totally into the Chinese system? How can it assist Macau in gaining its competitive advantage when compared with neighbouring Hong Kong or the Zhuhai Region? This thesis examines the roles that the university took at different times and proposes ways for its further evolution. The discussion is based on empirical research, which consists of

interviews with seven key figures, who were in the university before, during and after transition.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 identifies the historical context of Macau and points out the critical issues during the transitional period. Chapter 3 looks into the changes in the education system within the political context. Chapter 4 researches the literature and identifies the general patterns of the impact of colonisation and de-colonisation on education. Focus is placed on the patterns illustrated by Asian countries. Chapter 5 presents the methodology of the research. Chapter 6 and chapter 7 concern the findings of the research. Chapter 8 presents the analysis of the findings, focuses on the commonalities and diversities of Macau compared to other colonies, and seeks to point out the challenges and strategies of the future.

## **Chapter 2: Macau in Political Transition**

### **2.1 Introduction**

As noted in the introductory chapter, colonial history and the nature of political transition affect the educational development of a country. Postiglione and Lee (1997, p.2) argue: “Schools do not exist in a vacuum. They are part of the society that surrounds them.” Therefore, before examining the education system of Macau, it is essential to investigate and analyse the society within which it is embedded.

This chapter provides a general background to the thesis and discusses the political changes that happened in Macau over a period of four and a half centuries. Based on this setting, the thesis moves on to study the changes of the education system in the following chapter. This chapter illustrates the historical progress of how the Portuguese settled in Macau and how the region was eventually colonised. It shows that the colonisation process was long and obscure, during which the Chinese government and the Portuguese government were constantly negotiating. Within this context, a gap was formed between the colonial government and the general public. The government adopted a *laissez-faire* approach towards the society while most local people showed few concerns over administration and politics. This chapter argues that this feature has in turn caused many hindrances, such as the lack of local experts, to the decolonisation process that happened at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

During the transitional period, which prepared Macau for the change of sovereignty, new policies were gradually implemented. Among them three were most crucial – (1) the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, (2) the localisation of the civil service, and (3) the localisation of laws. This chapter suggests that these three policies are interrelated and ‘education’ is the key answer to their effective accomplishment. This chapter reveals that political policies affect education and vice versa.

## **2.2 Geography and Population**

Macau is located on the Southeast coast of China to the west of the Pearl River Delta bordering on Guangdong Province. It lies 60km from Hong Kong and 145km from the city of Guangzhou (Government Information Bureau, 2003a).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macau only covered 2.78sq.km., but now its area has expanded to 23.8sq.km., including Macau and the two islands of Taipa and Coloane.

In 2000, Macau had a population of 438,000. Over 96% of Macau's population speak Chinese and Portuguese is spoken by around 2%. Cantonese is the most commonly used dialect. Over 80% of the population has lived in the territory for over ten years. 45% of the population was born locally and another 45% were born in mainland China. 10% came from other places.

Although Macau and Hong Kong are close neighbours and both are considered as the last colonies of European imperialism, their natures of colonisation and decolonisation are different. The colonial status of Macau has been debatable. Cheng (1999) suggests that both the colonisation and decolonisation of Macau are anomalous. The following sections will analyse the anomalies suggested by Cheng and argue that the historical development of Macau has a great influence on the later social and political environments of the city.

## **2.3 The Portuguese Settlement and the Beginning of a Mixed Jurisdiction**

Many historians agree that Portuguese traders secured from the Chinese authorities rights of settlement in 1557 (Afonso and Pereira, 1986, cited in Bray, 1992b). Nevertheless, Cheng (1999) mentions that the legitimacy of the sovereignty has been a matter of doubt. She suggests that in 1553, under the pretext that their ships had been wrecked, the Portuguese sought permission to go ashore in Macau to dry their water-soaked goods. Perhaps due to bribery and sympathy, the Chinese officials allowed them to do so. However, there were no known documents proving the exact terms of settlement (Pires, 1967, cited in Pereira, 1991).

In 1573, the Ming government built the Barrier Gate. It separated Macau from the mainland and the Portuguese began to pay *foro do chão*, or ground rent, to the Emperor of China. The existence of this ground rent policy was the basis upon which some constitutional theorists construed the notion that the Portuguese settlement of Macau was the result of a *cessão por arrendamento*, or leasehold. (Oueiró, 1975, cited in Pireira, *ibid.*).

The strategy that the Ming government used was, indeed, strange and unusual. Macau was never officially ceded to Portugal as a colony. However, the Portuguese were allowed to administer the city to a great extent. Perhaps it was just like what Ursellis (1995, p.147-148, cited in Cheng, 1999, p.23) mentions in his research: “the Portuguese were squatters who maintained their position through a combination of weakness, corruption, and hesitant policy on the part of the Chinese.”

## **2.4 Asserting Portuguese Sovereignty**

According to Pereira (1991), the Lisbon government allowed the territory’s mixed Portuguese-Chinese jurisdiction until 1783 when it promulgated the *Providências Régias*, or Royal Provisions, which asserted more jurisdictional rights over the territory. In 1822, the first Portuguese constitution declared Macau an integral part of Portuguese territory and it was also proclaimed a free port open to trade with all nations.

The climax of all these measures, which were intended to strengthen the Portuguese colonial power, was the appointment of João Maria Ferreira do Amaral as the governor in 1846. He implemented a policy of confrontation, which aimed at destroying all symbols of Chinese imperial presence. In order to increase the urban land area, he demanded the removal of all Chinese graves near the Barrier Gate. This act infuriated the Chinese to an unbearable extent. The conflict grew so tense that some Chinese retaliated by posting notices in the streets of Guangzhou, which offered rewards for Amaral’s head. At the end, he was assassinated by several Chinese, with his arm and head cut off in 1849.

## **2.5 The Treaty of Beijing: The Perpetual Occupation of Macau**

Pereira (ibid.) notes that assisted by the cession of Hong Kong in 1842 and the Treaties of Tianjin in 1858, the Portuguese began to pay serious attention to the issue of sovereignty. In 1862, representatives from China and Portugal reached an agreement in Tianjin, *Tratado de Amizade e Comércio entre Portugal e a China*, or Treaty of Friendship and Trade between Portugal and China. However, two years later, when a new diplomatic mission went back to China to ratify the treaty, the Chinese representatives sought to renegotiate its terms. The proposal was refused by the Portuguese representation, and the ratification failed.

Then in 1887, a new round of negotiations was open in Lisbon, and the Protocol of Lisbon was signed. At the end of the same year, the Treaty of Beijing was signed and ratified in 1888. It was the first time that the Chinese government expressly recognised the Portuguese sovereignty claims over Macau. The weak and corrupted Qing government (1644-1911) was compelled to do so because it needed Portuguese assistance to control the opium trade.

## **2.6 The Revolutions in Portugal and China**

Cheng (1999) notes that António de Oliveira Salazar overthrew the Portuguese monarchy in the '5 October 1910 Revolution' and established the authoritarian Corporative Unitary Republic in 1928. Unlike other European governments, Portugal was making no preparations to terminate its colonial control in Africa and Asia. Hargreaves (1996) argues that the primary obstacles for decolonisation were political and psychological because colonies provided evidence that the small weak state of Portugal had once been a power in the world and some colonies, such as Angola and Mozambique had economic value too.

In 1961 India invaded Goa and many resistance movements also broke out in Africa. Portugal had to maintain heavy military resources in its colonies and this placed increasing strains on the local economy and society. According to Cheng (1999), from 1961 to 1974, some 9000 Portuguese soldiers were killed and more than

25000 wounded. Then, on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974, a conspiracy of middle-ranking officers seized key points in Lisbon and installed a military junta under General Spínola, who had returned from the command in Guiné. The revolution in Lisbon, which was called the 'Carnation Revolution', had ended the 46-year rule of Salazar. It had weakened the impetus of the colonial armies to continue fighting and on 27<sup>th</sup> July Spínola announced the opening of negotiations for a transfer of power back to the colonies themselves.

In the meantime, China was changing. In 1911, the Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China was established. Then on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1919 a new movement, which was dedicated to anti-imperialism, national salvation and regeneration, broke out. In 1927, the Nationalist government launched a campaign calling for the review of all previously signed treaties. In 1928, a Preliminary Treaty of Friendship and Trade was signed between Portugal and China. In spite of these negotiations, the status quo of Macau was unchanged. Portugal was still governing Macau.

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party succeeded in liberating China and the People's Republic of China was founded. Due to its anti-colonialist ideology, it did not acknowledge the situation emerging from the complicated process leading to Portugal's sovereignty claims throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, it considered that the question of when and how the territory should be returned had to be assessed in terms of the right opportunity, and no forcible means should be resorted to.

In 1966, the Cultural Revolution broke out in the mainland. This event seriously aroused the spirit of pro-Communist citizens in both Hong Kong and Macau. Violent riots and anti-Portuguese propaganda broke out in Macau. These series of political activities were known as the '12.3 Incident' because they started on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1966. The Portuguese government was not able to control the anti-colonial emotions of the people and was forced to apologise to the Chinese citizens in order to settle the disputes. This action revealed that much colonial power had been relinquished and that the local leftist force was very strong.

The '12.3 Incident' was an explicit landmark in the social and political growth of Macau. Many local interest groups and business organisations were inclined to

China and the Portuguese did not intend to confront the Chinese government. Cheng (ibid.) notes that the Portuguese were ready to evacuate in the late 1960s but the Chinese government intentionally wanted to maintain Macau's identity as an open door, and allowed the Portuguese to stay. It was, indeed, a very ironic situation in the colonial relationship between the two countries.

After the ten-year Cultural Revolution, China began to restore its social stability at the end of the 1970s. Deng Xiaoping succeeded Mao Zedong to become the second-generation leader of the PRC. In 1979, diplomatic relations were established between the PRC and Portugal, and the protocol on the "question of Macau" was signed. Macau was then given a new identity: 'Chinese Territory under Portuguese Administration', a policy that did not admit Macau's colonial status, but agreed to the right of Portuguese administration.

## **2.7 The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration**

In 1985, President Ramalho Eanes of Portugal visited China and together with Premier Zhao Ziyang of China, they agreed to open negotiations by diplomatic channel with a view to solve the question of Macau. Negotiations were then carried out between 1986 and 1987, and the Joint Declaration of the Government of the Republic of Portugal and of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Question of Macau was signed on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1987<sup>1</sup>.

According to the declaration, the PRC would resume exercise of sovereignty over Macau with effect from 20<sup>th</sup> December 1999. Before the exercise of sovereignty by China, the Portuguese government would continue to promote the economic growth of Macau and would maintain its stability, and the Chinese government would give its cooperation in this connection. The Macau Special Administrative Region (SAR) would be established after the political change. The region would enjoy a high degree of autonomy except in foreign and defensive affairs. The basic policies stated in the declaration and the elaboration of them were stipulated in the Basic Law

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<sup>1</sup> For the English translation of the Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Portugal on the Question of Macau, see R. D. Cremer (1991), *Macau, City of Commerce and Culture, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition: Continuity and Change*, pp. 371-385.



of the Macau Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China by the 8<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, and they would remain unchanged for fifty years.

The Basic Law established specific directions, which guided the preparatory works towards the change of sovereignty. It advocated the end of the colonial administration and the beginning of an era in which the indigenous people of Macau had to be responsible for their own administration. This situation posed both opportunities and challenges for the people, many of whom had been politically indifferent for many years.

## **2.8 Critical Issues during the Transitional Period (15<sup>th</sup> January 1988 to 19<sup>th</sup> December 1999)**

During the transitional period, matters related to the political change were planned and prepared according to the Basic Law. Among the various fundamental tasks, three were considered the most crucial and challenging. They were the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of the civil service, and the localisation of laws. The effective implementation of these interrelated tasks was the means to sustain the high degree of autonomy of the region. Hence, they had to be performed with the greatest concern.

### **2.8.1 The Adoption of Chinese as One of the Official Languages**

In order to carry out the policy of high-level autonomy granted by the Joint Declaration, the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages had to take precedence over the other issues (Wong and Wu, 1994). However, this was not an easy task because the two official languages of the SAR, Chinese and Portuguese, have been existing in two separate communities for hundreds of years, and there was no effective channel linking the two.

The mixed elements of the languages in Macau were less than many colonies. Unlike Hong Kong where Chinese people were eager in learning English, people in Macau were less enthusiastic in learning Portuguese. Lume (1991, p. 129) mentions:

“The official language of Macau is Portuguese as it is spoken in Portugal, but only three per cent of the local population communicate in Portuguese.”

Zepp (1991) analyses the situation through a historical study of the demography of the city. He notes that the proportion of Portuguese people has been small, roughly about 3%, throughout the history. Second, Chinese people were mainly involved in the business sectors of the society while Portuguese people were administrators. The two groups seldom interacted. Lam (1991) argues that Macau can be described as a minimally integrated social political system where there was a wide gap between society and politics.

This type of development only demanded minimal communication between the two ethnic groups. It was reflected in the local schooling system, within which Portuguese schools and private schools were operated in two separate worlds. This point will be further discussed in chapter 3.

On the one hand, the Portuguese administrators were satisfied as long as their political objectives could be achieved and the local Chinese were living by the laws. On the other hand, the general Chinese people were not keen on politics. This was especially true when China itself has experienced long-term political turmoil throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most Chinese did not see the need to learn the Portuguese language, and perhaps some of them were too proud to do so. As for the Portuguese administrators, they did not impose any mandatory language policies on the local private schools and kept the Portuguese language solely for administrative purposes.

This phenomenon created opportunities for the Macanese to take up the middleman role. The term “Macanese” is difficult to define. In this thesis, Zepp’s (1991) definition is used. “Macanese” includes the descendants of the original Portuguese-Malaccan combinations and the descendants of Portuguese-Chinese marriages. Most Macanese can handle both the Portuguese and Chinese languages, though not many of them can attain complete fluency in either of the languages. Many Macanese joined the civil service and acted as a bridge between the Portuguese-speaking ruling class and the Chinese-speaking general public during the colonial period.

The Joint Declaration addresses the language issue and states that: “In addition to Chinese, Portuguese may also be used in organs of government and in the legislature and the courts in the Macau Special Administrative Region.” The law of adopting Chinese as one of the official languages was published in February 1992 in the Government Gazette and was stipulated. Since Chinese has not been used as an administrative language, the government established various policies to enhance its application (Wong and Wu, 1994). For instance, it sent a definite number of civil servants to Beijing each year to learn Chinese and in-service language training was also offered locally. And since 1992, all laws published in the Government Gazette have had Chinese translations. Chinese interpretation has also been provided in courts for the prosecution of criminal cases since 1994 and this service was extended to civil cases in 1995.

### **2.8.2 The Localisation of the Civil Service**

According to the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law, civil service posts would have to be taken up by residents of Macau. This policy would change the phenomenon, which was mentioned earlier, that most of the senior posts were taken up by delegates from Portugal. It further enhanced the significance of local civil servants, who in the past could only take up most of the junior posts.

However, Wu (1998) argues that although both the Chinese and the Portuguese attained a consensus in achieving this objective, there was some debate over the definition of ‘local’ people. Some parties believed that ‘local’ referred to Chinese member of the society while others suggested that ‘local’ should refer to members of any ethnic groups who have lived in the territory for a reasonably long period of time.

The Governor issued a significant memorandum, which addressed this issue in 1993 (Wu, *ibid.*). The memo revealed the determination of the government to achieve the objective and provided a clearer blueprint of how this could be done. The memo stated that localisation had to be done based on three foci. First, laws had to be reviewed and modified in order to render a clear demarcation of the duties and

requirements of every position in the government. The second focus was to streamline the governmental structure to cater for its future needs. Third, the government had to formulate the law, which allowed civil servants to choose if they would join the Portuguese civil service or remain in service in Macau. This scheme was important because the actual localisation work could only progress when the attitudes of the civil servants were specified.

On the one hand, the localisation policy was inarguably positive to the local people because they could take up more senior responsibilities. On the other hand, it was obvious that not many local people possessed the required skills and experiences to manage the SAR government. Therefore, this policy triggered the government to increase its investment in higher education so that more high-skilled professionals could be trained locally. This is a significant illustration of how politics and education are intimately related and this point will be further analysed in chapter 3.

### **2.8.3 The Localisation of Laws**

The third task was the localisation of laws. The laws of Macau were divided into two parts (Wong and Wu, 1994). The first part was imported from Portugal, which included criminal laws, the code of criminal legal procedure, civil laws, the code of civil legal procedure, and business laws. The second part consisted of laws that were legislated locally by the relevant body or by the governor. In addition, when cases were related to traditional Chinese customs and practices, Chinese laws, which were established before 1949, might also be applied. In some cases, even laws from Hong Kong might be borrowed and legitimated. This combined usage of different laws unquestionably produced serious confusion.

In addition, the use of language in the judiciary system posed another major problem. Laws imported from Portugal were all written in Portuguese and many of them could date back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were irrelevant to a modern society. Many laws, including those that were enacted locally, did not possess any Chinese translation. Therefore, there was a need to systematise and translate all laws into Chinese so that they could relate to the unique and current characteristics of the

territory. This task faced similar obstacles to the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages and it forced the government to utilise the university to develop local experts of law and translation.

In 1988, the Bureau for the Translation of Laws was set up and training was provided by the government to develop bilingual legal experts. According to official information, 30,000 laws were categorised by 1995. However, due to the long-term confusion and the lack of legal and language experts, the task to localise laws still remained difficult. According to Chen (1999), the criminal laws and the code of criminal legal procedure were translated and were practised in 1995 and 1997 respectively. However, the translation of the civil laws, the civil legal procedure, and business laws were still in the consultative stage.

## **2.9 Special Features of Macau's History and Their Impact on Education**

The above discussion shows that the political status of Macau has been unclear during its long history of Portuguese settlement. It can be argued that Macau was not a colony. It was at most a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration. But since Portugal dominated Macau in all sectors throughout the years, its rule over Macau will be considered as a form of colonisation for the discussion of this thesis.

Macau has experienced a long period of political obscurity since the Portuguese settlement in 1557. On the one hand, despite the fact that the Ming government had abandoned the city by building a Barrier Gate, it continuously demanded benefits from the Portuguese and kept on exerting political influence on the city. On the other hand, the Portuguese began to govern the territory long before gaining a lawful permission from China. Although the Treaty of Beijing was signed in 1887 and the Chinese government agreed to the Portuguese sovereignty over Macau, it was later refuted by the Nationalist government. Therefore, throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and first-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the issue of Macau was not yet finalised.

The People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 and the Cultural Revolution broke out in the late 1960s. The strong anti-imperialist mood extended to

Macau and caused the '12.3' riot. The government failed to suppress the people and had to apologise to the Chinese leaders in order to calm down the emotions of the rioters. Many local organisations were inclined to the left, and this phenomenon has carried on ever since.

The lack of legitimacy of the Portuguese rule caused two major negative effects. First, the Portuguese did not take a long-term and solemn consideration over its administration. They did not feel that they should hold responsibilities for the welfare of the Chinese citizens. Second, the Chinese people did not truly respect the Portuguese government and were passive toward the authority. The situation was further worsened by the appointment of Amaral as Governor and his assassination in 1849. All of these added up and produced the political and emotional separation between the two groups. Due to this situation, the growth of Macau has continuously been inactive.

The '12.3' incident illustrates that Macau was strongly affected by the political situation of China and there was close connection between the two places. Many people remained inclined to China emotionally though they were living under Portuguese rule. On the other hand the government did not adopt any measures to eliminate these feelings and continued its *laissez faire* policies.

As noted previously, the Portuguese were ready to leave after this incident but the Chinese government wanted Macau to be an open door. Therefore the Portuguese did not leave the territory. Cheng (1999, p. 35) notes: "Lisbon was informed that China wished Macau to remain as it was, largely because the change in Macau's status might shock the people of Hong Kong... It was indeed an ironic inversion of the colonial relationship because it was the radical Cultural Revolution in China that allowed the colonial era in Macau to continue."

The decolonisation of Macau was not yet settled until Deng Xiaopeng became the president of China in late 1970s and expressed the hope to re-unify Macau with the mainland. The date of the exact return of sovereignty was negotiated during the preparation of the Joint Declaration. With the execution of the open-door policy in China and the economic development of Hong Kong in the 70s, Macau was finally able to evolve from a stagnant economy to a relatively affluent city. The colonial

government also began to assume a more active role in providing better social welfare and education to the local people.

During the transitional period, there were interesting signs of “decolonisation within a colonial context” (Cheng, *ibid.*, p.36). Two related events illustrated this argument. First, there was the construction of the new headquarters of the Bank of China Building. It was completed in 1991 and was the tallest building in the territory. Its spectacular visual dominance represents the resurgent power of the PRC. Second, there was the dismantling of the Amaral monument, which was erected in the 1940s. The statue represented the Portuguese nostalgia for the past glories in Macau and it also symbolised the Portuguese bygone greatness as a super power at sea. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the Chinese citizens, the statue represented an ugly past of the colonised regime and was, in fact, a symbol of humiliation.

This instruction was anachronistic because the Chinese government was exercising post-colonial power before the Portuguese official retreat. These two incidents proved that the Chinese power was greater than its legitimate authority. It was particularly obvious when the colonial government did not oppose the removal of the Amaral monument. This action was a subtle sign that decolonisation had occurred before the official change of sovereignty.

The historical background of Macau created several consequences. First, many local Chinese people were and still are indifferent towards politics. This is because during the Portuguese administration, few Chinese were able to speak fluent Portuguese and communicate directly with the government. Yee (2001, p. xvii) notes: “There was thus little direct communication between the Chinese community and government officials and the local Chinese inhabitants were by and large alienated from politics.” This situation did not improve in the 1970s when the Legislative Assembly’s elections were first held because the electoral law was biased in favour of Portuguese nationals. It was only until the late 1980s that the number of registered voters increased and more local citizens participated in elections.

Second, since the 1960s the local Chinese community has been dominated by pro-Beijing organisations. However, due to the political instability in the mainland, particularly during the ten-year Cultural Revolution, politics was considered a taboo

for a long period of time. The situation only gradually relaxed when China embarked on its open-door policy in the late 1970s.

Third, the colonial government played a minimal role in providing welfare. Religious missionaries and private organisations became substantial givers of various social services.

Fourth, many local Chinese were not interested in the Portuguese culture and were reluctant to learn the language. Most of them chose to receive Chinese or Anglo-Chinese education, which was deemed to be more practical. A vicious cycle, therefore, gradually developed between the two ethnic groups. Without having the least understanding of one another, Portuguese and Chinese have been living in two isolated sub-societies. The Macanese, in turn, became the linkage between them.

These characteristics seriously affected the development of the education system. The isolation of the two groups encouraged public schools, which followed the Portuguese system and private schools, which followed various systems, to evolve along two independent paths. Due to the laissez-faire policy of the government toward private schools, missionaries and private organisations took up critical roles in providing education. Since Portuguese was not a very important commercial language, Chinese people were more willing to study in Chinese schools or Anglo-Chinese schools, the curricula of which were considered more appropriate for the local society. These private schools were allowed to operate with high autonomy. Therefore, many sub-systems formed.

Within this context, political change posed challenges to the continuous development of the city. Wu (1998) argues that the long periods of political confusion and the indifference of the people caused great difficulties in the planning and implementing of policies that really met the new demands of the territory. And this situation would certainly dampen the actualisation of the 'Macau people govern Macau' principle. Wu points out that due to the lack of local political leaders, it would be difficult to accomplish effectively the localisation of laws, the localisation of the civil service and the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages.

In fact, the only means to work out these policies was to secure enough human resources. Two different but complementary strategies could be adopted.



One was the education and training of local people, and the other was the import of experts from other places, such as China and Portugal. Since the main concept that linked these policies was 'localisation', it seemed that the first strategy was more significant while the second strategy could serve as a supporting approach. Education played a critical part here in answering the demands from the political sector. It exerted influences on the political outlook of the city.

In the next chapter, the development of the education system and the issues that it has had to face before and after the handover will be discussed and analysed.

## **Chapter 3: Education in Transition**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In the last chapter, the political environment of Macau was introduced. It notes that due to the long and complicated colonisation process, the Portuguese government has adopted a laissez-faire approach towards the provision of social welfare and has separated itself from the general public.

On the one hand the Portuguese did not take long-term consideration over its administration. On the other hand, the Chinese were passive towards politics. Few local people were trained to take up senior positions in the civil service. Therefore, problems emerged when they were given the chance to govern themselves after the change of sovereignty. There were three particularly important and challenging tasks that Macau people had to face during the transitional period. They were the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of the civil service and the localisation of laws. In order to manage these tasks and to ensure a healthy development of the city, education is a critical factor.

This chapter examines the features of Macau's education system and the changes that it underwent during the transitional period. It first gives a comprehensive review of the features of the schooling system followed by a description of the higher education sector. The discussion of the schooling system offers readers a better understanding of the education environment of Macau, and helps them appreciate the development of higher education. It is also shown later in chapter 4 that colonisers exerted different policies on schooling and higher education. The chapter looks at how the political situation affected education. In addition, the strengths and weaknesses of the system are also evaluated.

### **3.2 A Brief History of Education in Macau**

Education in Macau has a long history and its evolution has been closely related to the Church. Both Cheng (1999) and Watson (1982) note that the spread of

Christianity was one of the purposes of Portuguese colonisation. In Macau, education, religion and colonisation were an inter-related tripod.

In 1594 the Jesuits set up St. Paul's University College, the first European-style university in the Far East, in Macau. It offered courses in humanities, Greek, Latin, rhetoric and philosophy (Pires, 1991). The Catholic Church saw Macau as the frontier for disseminating Christianity in China and the institute was used to train prospective missionaries (Hui and Poon, 1999). In 1728, the Jesuits opened the Seminary and Church of S. José, and they were very concerned with the education of young people. Nevertheless, religious conflict broke out in Europe and brought about a discontinuation of the Society of Jesus in Portugal and a banning of Jesuits throughout Portuguese territories. As a result, many schools had to be closed.

In 1862, the Jesuits returned to the city and schooling was provided at the seminary again. The number of students began to increase gradually. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of schools, both public and private, was expanded. Local merchants and charities supported the establishment of private Chinese schools. For instance, Kiang Vu Charity School was established by Liu Long Shan in 1874; and the Tong Sin Tong charity society set up tutorial classes for the poor in 1892 (Adamson and Li, 1999). In 1929, there were 124 schools, and the total number of enrolment was 9,147 students (Pires, 1991).

Historically the Church played an important role in providing schooling. This trend extends to the present. Many secondary schools are still sponsored by religious bodies, particularly the Catholic Church. This is especially critical in a place where the government has not been active in providing mass education.

The Japanese invasion of China as well as the Chinese civil war also affected the development of schooling in Macau because many schools in the mainland, together with the experienced teachers and administrators, were relocated in the territory (Adamson and Li, 1999). Some of them continued their operations after the wars.

### 3.3 Features and Problems of Macau's Schooling System

Despite this rich history, Bray and Hui (1991) argue that the educational provision of Macau has lagged far behind that of many other parts in Asia. This situation was mainly caused by the unsympathetic policy of the government. As noted in chapter 2, the political status of Macau was unclear for an extended period of time and the Portuguese administration did not adopt long-term social welfare policies. This approach in turn affected the development of education.

As mentioned above, the number of private schools has gradually increased since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and they have eventually become a significant part of the system. However, the government poured most attention and resources into the public school system only.

Jorge Rangel (1991a), the then Under-Secretary for Administration, Education, and Youth Affairs, argues that education became a priority only during the last decade of the government's development plans. For years, there was a near complete separation between the Department of Education and the various sponsors of private schools. Adamson and Li (1999) argue that this was a reflection of the centre-periphery dichotomy of the colonial government. The Portuguese expatriates, the Macau-born Portuguese and the mixed race Macanese attracted the most concern from the government because they were at the centre of the governmental consideration. The Chinese citizens were considered as a peripheral group or might even be classified as foreigners (Rosa, 1991). The division of the Portuguese and the Chinese was thus already rooted in the schooling system. Although it was not a mandatory separation, the preferences of the people resonated with the social situation where there were three sub-groups: the Chinese, the Macanese, and the Portuguese.

Bray and Hui (1991) summarised some features of Macau's schooling system, which shows further diversities. First, Macau did not have a single schooling system. It consisted of various sub-systems based on models from Portugal, mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The number of years in the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary cycle varied according to the model.

Second, the majority of schools were private schools run by various types of sponsors. Public schools only occupied a small portion of the system.

Third, the medium of instruction varied. In terms of the medium of instruction, there were four types of schools: Chinese schools, Anglo-Chinese schools, Luso-Chinese schools and Portuguese schools.

Fourth, different curricula were used by the various sub-systems and all textbooks were imported. The Portuguese schools used Portuguese materials and followed Portuguese assessment system. Luso-Chinese schools used a combination of Portuguese and Chinese materials. As for other private schools, the selection of curricula was based on the preferences of the sponsors.

Fifth, schooling in Macau was voluntary.

On the one hand, these characteristics produced the diversity of Macau's learning models and reflected the particular nature of the region. The private schooling sector enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and students from different backgrounds could choose the type of system, which they found most appropriate. On the other hand, the following problems emerged:

- The sub-systems were not comparable with one another and students found difficulty if they wanted to transfer from one system to the other. Adamson and Li (1999) argue that this situation caused schools to be more vertically integrated, providing primary and secondary schooling in a single location whereas horizontal integration was kept at a minimum. In addition, communication among these sub-systems was not active.
- There was no official assessment policy and it was difficult to judge objectively the standards of different schools.
- The use of imported teaching materials neglected the significance of local history and social characteristics, thus, creating a weak sense of identity among students.
- The government provided substantial resources to the public schools while ignoring the private ones. This created serious financial burdens on the sponsors and parents of private schools.

The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration was signed in 1987 and it marked the political future of Macau. This political change had strong impact on the education system. In the higher education sector, the government bought the University of East Asia and changed it into a public university in 1988.

In the schooling sector, the first large-scale symposium titled ‘Education Reform in Macau’ was held in 1989. Four broad issues were debated: the education system, the school administration, the policy of compulsory education, and teacher training.

Local scholars demanded a list of changes, which were targeted at the problems that had existed for years.

- A more organised schooling system.
- A standardised assessment policy.
- A free universal schooling system.
- A more effective re-organisation of the Education Department.
- A more even distribution of resources among different types of schools.
- A more transparent policy making process.
- Better compensation packages to teachers.
- Increased government spending on education.
- A review on language policy.

The government was responsive and a set of reform proposals was released in 1990 (Bray and Hui, 1991). Some of the objectives were:

- There would be progressive implementation of universal and free primary education.
- There would be revision for the diffusion of the Portuguese language.
- The education sector needed to satisfy the future economic, political, cultural and social needs of the city.
- A continuous education system would be launched.

The first objective was an answer to the imbalance of resources between public schools and private schools. By providing universal free schooling, financial burdens could be taken away from sponsors and parents. Nevertheless, the government would acquire more control over the administration of schools, and the level of academic autonomy might be decreased. The other three objectives were guidelines that aimed at sustaining the uniqueness and competitiveness of the schooling system after the political change. It was emphasised that the schooling system should cater for the local needs not only during the transitional period, but also after the change of sovereignty. There were no strong voices to re-structure the various sub-systems into a unified mode and the continuous use of Portuguese was cherished rather than abandoned.

### **3.4 Critical Changes of the Schooling System During the Transitional Period**

During the transitional period, the schooling system was modified in two notable areas: the establishment of the free-education scheme and the provision of a systematic teacher training policy.

In 1995, the Governor imposed Law No. 29/95/M, which aimed at providing free universal schooling to Macau residents. This policy provided fairer chances to students from different backgrounds to be enrolled in the schools of their choices (Sou, 1996). This scheme covered all public schools, and private schools were allowed to participate voluntarily. After joining the scheme, private schools were monitored by the government in areas, such as class size and the amount of miscellaneous fee they charged their students. In return, the government would provide assistance in terms of financial subsidies, technical and teaching support, and insurance and hospitalisation subsidies for students.

Sou (1999) argues that 1991 was a critical year because Law No. 11/91/M, which governed the education system, was implemented. This law provided a framework to the length of schooling. It allowed sub-systems to fine-tune their structures while catering for their own characteristics.

Another obvious change was the amount of financial resources that has been invested in the schooling sector. In 1989, the budget for schooling was 207 million patacas<sup>2</sup> and in 1999, the figure was increased fivefold to 1 billion patacas. The resources were put into the development of new private schools and the provision of the 10-year free education scheme. In 1999, the scheme successfully covered 86% of all primary schools, and 68% of all students attending primary schools enjoyed this subsidy.

The increase in financial resources enhanced the training and the overall remuneration levels of teachers. In the area of teacher training, the university played an important role. It set up the School of Education, which worked closely with the government to provide the necessary training to the teachers. The School was later upgraded into a Faculty.

The total number of teachers increased from 2400 in 1987/88 to 3600 in 1996/97. The percentage of pre-school teachers, who attained training diploma increased from 33% in 1987/88 to 87% in 1998/97. The percentage of primary teachers, who attained training diploma increased from 33% in 1987/88 to 82% in 1987/88.

The remuneration level also increased significantly. In 1989, the proportion of teachers, who earned more than \$5000 per month, was only 4.5%. About 70.1% earned less than \$3500 per month. In recent years, most teachers could earn as much as \$10,000.

In addition, more new schools were planned in order to meet the demands. There were three phases of construction of schools, ranging from 1993 to 1999. During this period, a total of 36 schools would be established.

Last, but not the least, Sou (ibid.) mentions that during the period from 1993 to 1997, the government imposed new laws, which monitored the type and duration of courses offered by the schools. One of these laws is Law no. 46/97/M, which provides guidelines to the curriculum of senior secondary (*plano curricular do ensino secundário – complementar*).

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<sup>2</sup> Pataca is the currency of Macau. 1 pataca approximates to US\$0.125.



### 3.5 Summary of the Development of the Schooling System

The above discussion illustrates the development of schooling in Macau. It shows that during the early colonial period, the government focused on the provision of schooling to the Portuguese citizens, and the demands from Chinese citizens were ignored. This was because the government considered the Chinese as foreigners and was indifferent in providing services to them.

On the other hand, most Chinese students were not eager to attend Portuguese schools. They preferred to rely on the private schools even though they might need to pay high tuition fees because they saw that the curricula were more appropriate to their practical needs. As a result, very few Chinese people understood the Portuguese culture and language. Because of this, they seldom joined the civil service. This eventually created a gap between the general public and the administration. This was also the basis why the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of laws, and the localisation of civil service were considered serious challenges during the transitional period, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Private sponsors were extremely important in the provision of schooling. Since the government did not control this sector, the sponsors developed diverse sub-systems based on their own preferences. These sub-systems were different in orientation, structure, medium of instruction, and standard. This situation created both strengths and weaknesses. The private schools sector enjoyed high degree of autonomy and flexibility, and the students chose what was most suitable for them. However, there was a lack of objective assessment and horizontal integration.

The signing of the Joint Declaration was a turning point, from where the government has seriously looked into the issue of education. Improvements were made in areas, such as curriculum review, the introduction of the ten-year free universal schooling scheme, and the building of new schools. However, the evolution has not been completed. After the change of sovereignty, school administrators still need to face both internal and external challenges. Internally, they need to carry on seeking ways to fulfil the changing needs of the local community and to resolve old problems, such as the quality of teachers and the lack of sufficient

resources. Externally, they have to juxtapose their relationships with both China and Portugal. They have to decide what qualities to keep and what innovations are needed. Although the Joint Declaration confirmed the autonomy of education, it is inevitable that education has been affected by political change.

In the following sections, the development of higher education will be discussed. Similar to schooling, the colonial government took a laissez-faire approach to the establishment of tertiary institutions in the early days. The government only participated in the development of higher education in the late 1980s after the signing of the Joint Declaration.

### **3.6 The First Stage of Higher Education Development**

The University of East Asia (UEA) was the first modern tertiary institution in Macau. It was founded in 1981. Its establishment was triggered by various factors, which will be examined below.

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that after the ‘Carnation Revolution’ in 1974, Portugal established a democratic system and began the process of decolonisation. Macau was no longer considered an overseas Portuguese colony and the Macau Organic Statute (Estatuto Orgânico de Macau) was approved by the Portuguese Parliament in 1976. As a result, Macau’s political situation was more stable and its economy began to consolidate. Colonel Leandro, who governed Macau from 1974 to 1979, encouraged the development of the general infrastructure in Macau.

According to Mellor (1988), Colonel Leandro employed a Hong Kong engineer, Wong King-keung, as a consultant to fix the leaking problem of the reservoir in 1978. While engaging in his work, he was invited to send in proposals, which might attract the practical interest of his friends in Hong Kong. In spring 1978, together with Edward Woo Pak-hay and Peter Ng Yuk-lin, they drew up a proposal to reclaim land from the sea between the two islands, and on the reclaimed land to build an industrial park.

During this period, the team saw the possibility of founding a university, which would be subsidised by the profits accruing from the normal process of disposing of prepared lots in the industrial park. Colonel Leandro was interested in this idea and offered them a choice between three island sites for this project. They chose a Taipa site later that year. However, due to the change of governor, the scheme for an industrial park was indefinitely postponed. The three partners then began to seek other financial sources and eventually they attracted a body of interested investors.

After much preparation, the university was scheduled to open in September 1981. Professor Shou-sheng Hsueh was appointed as the founding Rector in July 1980 and the Inauguration Ceremony was held on the 28<sup>th</sup> March 1981. The Macau government did not support the university directly, but donated 5.5 million patacas for building the convention centre and provided 4 million patacas as student grants and loans. The university consisted of three founding colleges: University College teaching students for full-time degrees, Junior College taking responsibility for full-time upper secondary teaching with a two-year curriculum, and a College for Continuing Education offering part-time extension and adult course locally.

Although this university was built in Macau, it was not a typical colonial university. It was a private university, which had few academic connections with the metropole. The general patterns of colonial higher education policies noted by Altbach (1998), listed below, were not present at UEA.

- Language of the coloniser was used.
- Structures were patterned after metropolitan models.
- The curriculum was similar to that of the metropole.
- Most academic staff was from the metropole.
- Academic freedom was limited.
- Colonial universities were seedbeds of the emergence of the independent nations.
- Colonial universities were closely connected to the metropole.

The founders did not target local students. They aimed at overseas Chinese and Hong Kong students. Therefore it adopted a British structure and used English as the medium of instruction. In 1987, the total number of students from Hong Kong was 5071 and the total number of students from Macau was only 724. Due to its commercial nature, the university depended largely on tuition fees and private donations for its operating expenses. Therefore, the level of tuition fees was beyond the affordability of many local households.

Despite the fact that the establishment and operation of the university was businesslike, the contribution of its founders could not be ignored. It gained recognition from other institutions and professional societies, which accredited its courses for exemption from their own examinations. Graduates were also accepted for admission to postgraduate study elsewhere. Although the university did not sufficiently provide higher education to accommodate the needs of the indigenous society, it paved way for the later development.

### **3.7 The Second Stage of Higher Education Development**

Similar to the schooling system, political transition brought changes to higher education. Hui and Poon (1999) suggest that the Portuguese realised the transitional period was the last chance for them to maintain Portuguese influence in East Asia. Therefore, the government decided to purchase the University of East Asia.

Mellor (1988, p.109) suggests:

The changes taking place in the local political scene and their very swiftness present a new educational challenge. Encouragement of the best of the Chinese middle school-leavers to enter the higher reaches of the civil service is emerging as public policy, and the University has already been called upon to provide more educational services than it can finance from its own reaches for these students, including teacher-training and courses in law, public administration, and translating and interpreting, to say nothing of Portuguese studies.

The founders were aware that the provision of these courses would attract too few students to support their cost without public assistance. When Carlos Melancia

became the Governor, he discussed this issue with the university founders. “The conclusion was reached that the assets of the University in Macau should be vested, by purchase from the Founder, in a public foundation. The Founder’s provisos on autonomy and academic links would be incorporated in the legal instruments which would accompany the transformation from private to public.” (Mellor, *ibid.*, p.110)

The Governor and the Directors of the founding company signed the protocol on the 19<sup>th</sup> February 1988. The university’s physical assets in Macau would be transferred to the Macau Foundation. And the Founder would retain the Open College, some programs of the Graduate College, the University Press and the administration in Hong Kong office. The final draft of the revised University Charter was also prepared. It changed the structure of a federation of Colleges to a more centralised structure, which allowed the affiliation of other institutions. The draft was adopted by the University’s Board of Trustees and was approved by the Macau Foundation.

The change in ownership caused changes in philosophy and outlook. Rangel (1989, cited in Bray and Hui, 1991, p.308-9), the then Government’s Delegate to the University, suggests: “The greatest heirloom that Portugal can leave in Macau should be a university built according to the modern mode. This university will be the focus point of knowledge transmission and the bridge for eastern and western communication.”

According to the Lei de Bases do Ensino Superior (Rangel, 1991b), or the Basic Laws of Higher Education, there were several areas that the government noted for principal expansion:

- To develop graduates in different knowledge areas and to ensure that they will participate in the development of the territory.
- To provide continuous education to the public at large.
- To assist individuals or groups to innovate or improve in areas of fine arts, arts, sciences and technological fields.
- To promote cultural, scientific and technological information. To increase the values of research outputs. To promote publication of research works.

- To participate in policy planning.
- To establish links between education and research activities.
- To assist in local cultural research.
- To provide professional services to the local community.
- To develop a relevant form of cultural promotion.
- To enhance international collaboration.

### **3.8 Major Changes Made**

After the university became an autonomous public institution, several changes were made. First, the name was changed from University of East Asia to University of Macau in 1991.

Second, the original Colleges were restructured into Faculties, Colleges, Schools, Institutes, Centres, and Programs.

Third, the Administrator, a new position, was set up. He was in charge of the administration, financial management and asset management of the university and was accountable to the Secretary of Education and Youth Affairs. The Rector, Vice-Rector, and the Administrator, formed a top management tripod.

Fourth, the direction of the university was changed from serving overseas Chinese to satisfying the needs of the local society. Rangel (1991a, p.319) argues that: “the University must promote the training of highly qualified local professionals and potential leaders to accomplish the objectives of localization.” Courses in law, engineering, public administration, teacher training, and technical and cultural courses for the police force, were custom-made for local needs. The university also established the Institute of Portuguese Studies in 1991, the objectives of which were to contribute to the strengthening of regular cultural and scientific relations between China and the Portuguese speaking communities in Europe, Africa and America (Hui and Poon, 1999). The Institute was later changed into the Department of Portuguese.

Fifth, an entrance examination was introduced in the academic year 1989/90. As noted in the previous chapter, Macau has diverse schooling sub-systems. In order

to provide a fairer evaluation of students, the entrance exam was an important measure taken by the university.

Sixth, the length of study for degree courses changed from three years to four years. Since most local secondary schools offered six-year education, the new policy could attract graduates and bring the university in line with the models in Portugal, China and North America. It also enabled the quality of the programs to be strengthened, facilitating both local and international recognition. Gao (1999) argues that this policy completed the metamorphosis of the university from the original British model to a Portuguese or Chinese model.

Seventh, large sums of public money were poured in. In 1990, the Macau Foundation provided 30 million patacas for the operation of the university; 13 million for subsidising the reduction of tuition fees offered to local students; 7 million for the establishment of new buildings; and 1 million for paying the debts incurred by the takeover of the university (Hui, 1994). The policy to reduce tuition fees has resulted in an increase in the number of local students. In the year 1989-1990, local students made up 74% of the student composition.

### **3.9 Implications**

The changes noted above show that the university began to relate more to local demands. The structure was trimmed to create stronger vertical integration. It provided education ranging from pre-university courses to doctorate degree courses.

New faculties were added and they were responsible for training the personnel that were most needed by the local markets. As discussed in the previous chapter, Macau faced three critical problems in the transitional period: the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of the civil service, and the localisation of laws. The university responded by creating relevant courses to meet these demands.

Close connections were built with the metropole. This could be illustrated by the establishment of the Institute of Portuguese Studies and the recruitment of Portuguese professors in various areas. Macau was small and it was difficult to

provide the necessary specialists locally. Therefore, at the beginning of the transition, it had to rely on the support from Portuguese institutions. In addition, the Portuguese Ministry of Education established a policy of assessing the courses offered by UM. Those which fulfilled the requirements of the Ministry would be recognised.

Although the university did not fully follow the pattern of colonial higher education listed in section 3.6, it was now closer to this form in terms of structure and the composition of academic staff. The university was also a seedbed for the provision of personnel for the transition period as well as the new administration.

At the same time, the university maintained certain features. English was still the chief medium of instruction in most courses. Besides Portuguese professors, there were a large number of professors from various countries. These were important measures that sustained the internationalisation of the university.

### **3.10 The Third Stage of Higher Education Development**

The Special Administrative Region government took over on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1999 and reorganised the structure at the top level. Before the change, the university was under the management of the Under-Secretary for Education and Youth Affairs. In the new system it came under the control of the Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture (Bray, 2002).

According to the Relatório de Actividades (Universidade de Macau, 1999), the government set the following targets for higher education:

- To continue the process of higher education development.
- To promote the regional and international development of UM.
- To strive for the overseas recognition of UM courses.
- To encourage publication in order to promote the application of scientific products.
- To minimise the distance between higher education and the general public.
- To provide training and development to academic staff.



- To co-operate with public administrative departments to promote several professional training schemes.
- To finish the hardware development of UM.
- To set up the self-evaluation and external-evaluation procedures.
- To encourage students to organise and participate in various academic and social activities.

Horizontally the university continued to develop in two areas. First, it strengthened its connection with the community through the provision of training to local organisations. Second, it expanded its relationship with overseas entities through seeking for more recognition and co-operation. Vertically it pushed its levels higher through the promotion of research and development, publications, and the improvement of standards of the teaching force.

Despite the change of sovereignty, the university shows some continuities. Interflows with European countries continued. As noted by the report, 31 universities from 14 countries participated in the student exchange programme. In the year 1999/2000, 58 local students went abroad and 50 overseas students came to UM.

The Portuguese Ministry of Education maintains the procedures of recognising the courses offered by UM.

In general, the university follows mostly the pattern left by the previous stage. Nevertheless, in 2002, a task force was formed to revise the university charter. This may lead to the most crucial change that the university will have after the political transition.

### **3.11 Summary**

The university underwent two stages in terms of ownership. From 1981 to 1988 it was a privately owned university. From 1988 onwards it was a public university. The second stage can be further divided into two periods according to the sovereignty. From 1988 to 1999, the university was managed by the Portuguese administration. From 1999 onwards, it was under the management of the Special Administrative

Region government. Although the sovereignty was returned to China, the SAR enjoys autonomy in governing its own education system.

The university underwent most drastic changes when its ownership was changed from private founders to the government. The objective, the structure, the administration, the courses as well as the composition of students experienced extensive changes. These changes were responses made to the political and social transition of the society. In particular, the university was responsible for training high-skilled personnel in areas such as law, public administration, engineering, and education, for the Portuguese administration during the transitional period as well as for the SAR.

Comparatively, the actual change of sovereignty has not brought strong impact on the university. It continued its development basically following the directions laid down by the predecessors. Relationships with Portuguese universities and other European nations have been maintained. New courses were developed according to the needs of the society.

The most significant change perhaps is the revision of the university charter, the process of which was started in 2002.

In the next chapter, the literature on the impact of colonisation and de-colonisation on education will be examined. It will also develop the general patterns of the phenomena, which will be used to compare with that of Macau.

## **Chapter 4: The Impacts of Colonisation and Decolonisation on Education**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In the last chapter, the relationship between Macau's education system and political environment was examined and it showed they were closely related. They are interwoven in a non-linear manner, and it is difficult to construct a simple hypothesis to describe the cause and effect.

In this chapter, several countries in East Asia and Southeast Asia will be investigated to see how political changes have affected their education system. The first part focuses on the schooling system and the second part looks into the higher education sector. It shows that there are different trends in policies. These countries, similar to Macau, have undergone periods of colonisation and post-colonisation. Because of this characteristic, the relationships between politics and education in these countries or regions are worth comparing. However, it is also significant to point out that these countries are different in geographical sizes, cultures, religions, and histories. Hence, their educational policies will not be identical, and the resulting effects can be substantially diverse. These Asian countries not only provide theoretical comparison but also meaningful assessment for future readers in Macau.

The purpose of this chapter is to find out the elements in the education system that are affected by political changes and the extent of the impacts. These elements will then be used as a basis for researching the relationship between the change of sovereignty and higher education in Macau in the following chapters.

### **4.2 Impacts of Colonisation on Schooling**

Similar to Macau, before many colonial governments officially implemented their educational policies, mission schools already started their work to spread evangelist teachings to the people in colonised regions, such as Korea, Malaysia and Singapore. Mission schools contributed vastly to the preliminary development of western schools

in these Asian countries. For example, in Korea, during the period of 1885 to 1910, a total of 796 schools, from elementary to college were established and maintained by Western missionaries. They comprised about 35% of the entire number of formal schools in Korea (Lee, 1989).

Although the fundamental aims of these mission schools might not be political, their ideas were often far from the indigenous societies and created an environment that supported the colonial powers. Furnivall (1943, cited in Watson, 1982) argues that the curriculum offered by mission schools was too academic and too western and was not suited to the actual needs of the local people. However, mission schools provided a greater concern for individual rights and freedom, which might have been ignored by these countries before their colonisation. Mission schools opened the door to western technologies, languages and ideas, which paved the way for the later modernisation process of these countries. Watson (ibid.) argues that mission schools helped to produce an educated elite capable of formulated ideas based on new thoughts of humanism and liberalism. These ideas became the foundation for the development of nationalism, which is a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon in Asia.

Besides the expansion of mission schools, the exercise of formal colonial educational policies had a great impact on the indigenous societies. The outcomes of these policies varied substantially because different imperial powers adopted diverse policies and attitudes towards their colonised regions. Even if similar policies were carried out, the different backgrounds and cultures of the local people would create varied results. To summarise the argument, colonisers and the colonised people interacted to produce various, even infinite, types of outcomes (Kelly, 1984). Adamson and Li (1999) argue more specifically that the existence of pre-colonial forms of schooling made the situation more complicated.

A good example that illustrates these arguments is the comparison of the school practices in French West Africa and Indochina from 1918 to 1938 conducted by Kelly (1984). The research shows that colonial schooling in Indochina was perceived of in terms of mass education while in West Africa schooling was provided only to the local elite. Schools stressed literacy in Indochina while the emphasis was

on spoken French in West Africa. Furthermore, schooling was more systematic in Indochina than in West Africa, and no centralised degree examination was given to the students of West Africa. The cases showed clearly that although both regions were governed by the French, educational policies were largely different.

Another critical difference was the medium of instruction adopted in the two regions. In West Africa, all education was given in French while in Indochina, the first three years of education were given in the mother tongue.

School texts in both colonies stressed the differences between the coloniser and the colonised people, but did so in different ways. In West Africa, the texts compared whites and blacks, but avoided discussion of cultural or national contexts. In Indochina, the texts discussed the differences between Vietnamese culture and French culture, and attacked the “Chinese” mentality that led to the “miserable” dwellings.

These differences in colonial schooling systems were caused by very political reasons. Historically, education played an important role in Vietnamese society. The French felt that the original system might threaten their ruling power, therefore, they invented a schooling system to replace the traditional one completely. A prime motivation to establish a systematic mass colonial schooling was to strengthen French control over oppositional culture to colonialism and not to improve the quality of the region.

In West Africa, the situation was different. Mass education was never a local practice. Hence, the colonial administration found it more appropriate to give up mass education and did what it could to bolster the status of the local elite so that they would be willing to cooperate with them. It is, therefore, argued that colonisers often tried to appraise the meanings and values that education had traditionally represented in the societies before they introduced the colonial model so as to achieve their ultimate political objective.

From this research, it is noticeable that the original social environment of the region has a great influence on the policies exerted by the colonisers. It also shows schooling can be an important tool, which helps create and mould the desired colonised people for the colonial powers.

In Foley's (1984) study of colonial schooling in the Philippines from 1898 to 1970, a similar argument can be found. During the early stage of the American colonialism, there already existed an extensive legal bureaucratic system in the Philippines and a class of commercial entrepreneurs was starting to emerge. On the one hand, the Americans did not trust the local people. On the other hand, they had to fulfil the ambitions of the local ruling class. Therefore, they executed dual policies in the political and educational dimensions. First, the American colonisers formed a powerless parliamentary forum and worked closely with the American-oriented political party. Then mass education was used to develop a stable political democracy, and also to establish the Filipino working class as a human resource. This led to the result of a vocation-centred education. For the provision of general schooling, there was also a dual system of private schools for the elite and public schools for the ordinary. Therefore, colonial schooling in the Philippines, similar to that in Indochina and West Africa, was developed according to the purposes of the coloniser.

In Watson's (1982) study about schooling in Malaysia during the colonial period, he argues that the educational policy was developed largely by individuals on the spot and the personalities of individual administrators were critical to the developments. The British colonisers supported the original Malay rulers and the status of the Malay peasantry was maintained. The local custom and religion were also preserved. These attitudes were similar to those exerted by the French in West Africa, mentioned previously.

The story of Hong Kong offers a different scenario when contrasted with the above cases because Hong Kong experienced decolonisation at a much later period and it attained significant economic prosperity under colonial rule. Sweeting (1995) argues that for most of the time, the colonial government adopted *laissez-faire* policies towards business and education. However, it is more accurate to say that the British government effectively moulded Hong Kong into an economic city, whereas politics was kept at the minimal. Education was one of the key factors that contributed to economic success and was responsive to its demand.

After the Japanese occupation in 1945, Britain resumed the status of Hong Kong as a colony. During this period, Hong Kong began to change from an entrepôt port to a manufacturer and exporter of goods. This condition was further enhanced by the presence of rich capitalists, who escaped from Shanghai due to the Chinese civil war. These people brought along with them capital, technologies and entrepreneurship to Hong Kong. The sufficiency of these resources together with the willingness of the people to work diligently, pushed the economy to higher grounds. During the 1970s, the colony began to develop its financial and commercial sectors and after two decades, it became the third largest international financial and trading centre in the world.

Colonial schooling in Hong Kong was tightly linked to the economic development of the territory and was reflected in the different stages of expansion. During the post-war period, public expenditure was used on the growth of primary education and a seven-year expansion program in primary education was introduced in 1954. This policy was made in order to cater for the need of the growing population as well as to provide the industrial sector with human resources with basic education (Sweeting, 1995, Adamson and Li, 1999). This showed that educational change followed rather than preceded structural changes in the society. When the economy further developed and more high-skilled labour were needed, secondary education, vocational education and later tertiary education were gradually expanded. The establishment of nine years' universal and free education was achieved in 1978, providing six years of primary and three years of secondary schooling.

Although educational development was systematic, the provision of political and civic education was intentionally downplayed. For a long period of time, Hong Kong did not have the prospect of independence, therefore, its school curriculum strived to avoid political discussions. Sweeting suggests that the most significant development, which affected schooling "comprised attempts to apoliticize the curriculum" (1995, p. 62).

The above discussion shows that colonial schooling is mainly a political tool used by the colonisers to train the colonised people into roles that fit the strategy of the authority. And the form of colonial schooling that was set up was very much

based on what the colonisers wanted to achieve from the colonised people as well as how they perceived the values and beliefs of the indigenous schooling systems. In regions where local forms of schooling were present, colonisers would evaluate if they were threatening to their colonial control. If they were not, colonisers often integrated the local system with the system brought from the metropole. Under these circumstances, the colonised people would feel more acceptable and be more willing to co-operate with the new power. However, when the coloniser found that the traditional system presented views that were confronting their rule, then they might completely eliminate the traditional culture. The case of Vietnam could well depict this argument as the original Vietnamese language was entirely removed and replaced with western alphabets by the French coloniser. By doing so, the colonial authority successfully cut off the linkage between the colonised people and their historical past, which was considered a possible threat.

Colonisers might also perform in a less enthusiastic way. For instance, the British colonial government in Hong Kong adopted a *laissez-faire* approach at the beginning of its administration, and only began to take a more active role in education when demanded by the economic dimension. This was perhaps because Hong Kong was basically a small fishing port when the British first settled and it had not had a history of education. Therefore, similar to the case of West Africa, mass education was not necessarily provided.

If general schooling can achieve so much for the coloniser, then inevitably, higher education plays a more critical and sensitive role. Higher education is a double-edged sword of the colonial authority. On the one hand, it can develop a local elite, who can serve in the civil service and help implement the colonial policies. On the other hand, it often creates local leaders, who struggle for more political freedom and equality for the colonised people. Therefore, colonisers were very careful in establishing institutions of higher education.



### 4.3 Colonisation and the Development of Higher Education

Altbach (1998, p.34-35) argues that colonial traditions have had a varying impact on the nature of higher education.

The educational policies of the colonial powers generally reflected metropolitan ideas about education, but usually in a watered-down form. The colonial powers did not invest much in education and were relatively reluctant to permit the rapid growth of university-level institutions, for fear of endangering political opposition and producing an unemployed urban intelligentsia, as well as from an unwillingness to spend for expanded academic institutions. Higher education, where it was provided, was generally intended to produce loyal civil servants able to operate a bureaucracy. It was not intended to produce scientific research or to stimulate modernization.

The following cases help reveal the strength of the arguments made by Altbach. In Taiwan, there were three colleges and one university during the period of Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945. Their main purpose was to provide high-level manpower to support Japan's policies of colonisation and expansion (Kumnuch, 1996). The normal colleges were established to train the local Taiwanese into Japanese language teachers for common schools; the medical school was established to train local doctors in Western medicine to replace Chinese herb doctors and it concentrated on problems of medicine relevant to the island. As for the only university, Taihoku University, strict quotas were set for the number of Taiwanese who could be admitted. It catered more for the Japanese students rather than the local community. Hence, higher education reflected the social and ethnic prejudice of the colonial rule.

In Korea, the development of modern higher education was based on the arrival of American missionaries before the Japanese occupation (Lee, 1989). The missionaries brought with them new ideas, such as education for women and curriculum development, which were different from the traditional Korean views on education. One of the responses of the local society was the replacement of the learning of Chinese classics with western ideas. In addition, more Korean students went to the United States to further their studies. This was a special situation where

formal colonisation was not legitimated but strong American influences were already placed on the Korean society.

The American effect was interrupted when Korea came under Japanese rule in 1910. Lee (*ibid.*) argues that colonisation caused four impacts on higher education, namely, denationalisation, vocationalisation, deliberalisation, and discrimination. Koreans were forced to become loyal to the Japanese Emperor, to accept lower-level jobs, to undergo a curriculum that ignored liberal subjects and advanced technical courses, and to receive far less educational opportunities than the Japanese students.

The unfairness of the colonial policy could be reflected by the establishment of the Keijo Imperial University in Seoul in 1924, which was the only university in Korea. It provided higher education to the Japanese youth in Korea and Korean students were restricted to about one-fourth to one-third of the total enrolment. This policy was similar to that practised in Taihoku University.

Lee (*ibid.*) argues that during the Japanese occupation, Western missionaries and local forces were united to resist Japanese educational policy and many Koreans went to the United States for study and returned to work for Korean independence. Therefore, during this period, Korea experienced a complicated stage, in which the Japanese colonial government, the local people, and the American missionaries and educators were contesting for their influences.

Korea was liberated from the colonial rule in 1945 but was placed under a temporary trusteeship and was managed by the U. S. Military until 1948. The U. S. Military rule ended in 1948 when the Republic of Korea was established. Two years later the Republic went into the Korean War, which lasted from 1950 till 1953. After the war, the U. S. educational aid program began in 1952. There were many aid programs at the higher education level.

In summary, the higher education system of Korea has undergone decades of changes and many of these changes were related to politics. Three major forces contributed to its evolution. They were the indigenous value towards education, the Japanese colonial effect and the American influences that happened at different times and in different forms. The case of Korea illustrates how people might seek help in another foreign culture to resist the force exerted by the colonial regime. It is like

inviting colonisation in one form to replace colonisation in another form. Hence, people may have the power, though very often limited, to select the type and degree of impact created by colonisation.

The American colonisers funded many tertiary institutions in the Philippines and academic excellence was achieved (Gonzalez, 1989). These institutions used English as the medium of instruction and were structured according to the American system. The colonial system was positive in the sense that mass education was achieved and a stable political democracy was sustained, as suggested previously by Foley (1984). However, indigenisation of knowledge was never the emphasis and research never took root. The country did not develop a tradition of science, and therefore, its industrial development has not had a basis to advance further. This is similar to what Lee (1989) terms “vocalization” in the case of Korea. The American did not emphasise advanced technical courses and research.

For the British colonisers, the following cases can be compared. Gopinathan (1989) argues that there were two fundamental reasons for organising a tertiary form of education in Singapore during the colonial period. One was the need for medical service to cater for the expatriate population, and the other was the emergence of a local bourgeoisie. Hence, the Edward VII Medical School was established in 1913, and renamed King Edward VII College of Medicine in 1921. Raffles College was founded in 1929 and was an English medium teacher training college offering courses in English leading to a diploma. Selvaratnam (1989) argues that Raffles College was operated with a strong Eurocentric view and its faculty was imported from Britain. The two colleges were merged to become the University of Malaya in 1949. In 1960, the Singaporean division of the university gained independence and became the University of Singapore in 1962. In 1980, the University of Singapore and the Nanyang University were merged to become the National University of Singapore.

For India, the British established higher education in 1817 (Basu, 1989). Similar to Singapore, it was targeted at the training of local elite and the language of instruction was English. On the one hand, those who could get an English language education could have a better access to power. For instance, they could get higher-level government employment. On the other hand, higher education was a tool.

which consolidated British cultural, intellectual and political domination. The Western style education was criticised as being biased towards the west and it ignored local needs.

For Hong Kong, the British were indifferent towards the provision of schooling and higher education during the early colonial period because Hong Kong was considered as the base for penetration of China rather than a true long-term settlement area (Hui and Poon, 1999).

Nevertheless, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Hong Kong College of Medicine was established due to a strong need for medical services in the territory. This situation was similar to the development of the King Edward VII College of Medicine in Singapore. Then in 1911, the University of Hong Kong was founded and the College of Medicine became its Faculty of Medicine. The university followed the British system, the ideology of which was strongly attached to the colonial governance. Again here, the policy implemented was similar to that enforced in Singapore and India.

There were several reasons that supported the establishment of the university. First, there was a steady and increased supply of local secondary school graduates. Second, there was a period of expansion of tertiary education in the metropole, and this attitude also affected colonial educational policies. Third, Western powers were eager to exert their influences over the new China, which was founded in 1911, and one of the major means was through education. The University of Hong Kong was the sole university in the territory for over fifty years and only limited places could be provided. Competition to enter was severely keen. As a consequence, graduates from the university became the elite, who played significant roles in the evolution of Hong Kong.

Due to the limited number of seats offered by the University of Hong Kong, Sweeting (1995) argues that early post-war efforts to satisfy the increasing demand for places were basically satisfied by private 'Chinese Post-Secondary Colleges'. It was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that the government began to invest more in higher education. Similar to the expansion of primary and secondary education, tertiary education was only enlarged after the growth of the tertiary sector since the

1970s. Therefore, it can be concluded that the educational policies of Hong Kong followed the trends of economic development rather than preceded them.

In summary, the British provided colonial higher education for two main reasons. First, it was an answer to social needs, such as the establishment of medical schools in Singapore and Hong Kong. Second, it was a way to produce local elite, who could serve at the colonial government. In general, higher education was not intended to be mass education. Only very limited colonised people could gain access to the system and it was meant to work for the benefits of the colonisers.

#### **4.4 Summary: Schooling and Higher Education Compared**

The above discussion shows that higher education served several purposes for the colonisers. First, it provided easily accessible tertiary education to the children of the colonisers. Second, it responded to the urgent demands, such as health care services, from the local society. Third, a few fortunate local people could access tertiary education and used it as a means of upward mobility. Fourth, it provided high-level manpower to work for the colonial government and these people were significant in the modernisation of the colonies. Fifth, higher education was a means to spread Eurocentric, or for Taiwan and Korea, Japanese-oriented ideas and knowledge.

In all cases, the provision of higher education was not directed to improve the overall standard of the local people. Although some people used it to improve their socio-economic status, it was more true to say that higher education was a tool to reinforce the standing of the selected students from middle- and high-class families. Because these students had better chances to attain schooling that prepared them for further studies and their families could pay the tuition fees charged by universities. Another drawback that could be observed was the lack of 'localisation' of knowledge in colonial higher education, and this caused trouble to the region when it had the chance to become independent at a later stage, as in the case of the Philippines.

When schooling and higher education were compared, both sectors served the interests of the colonial powers more than those of the general people. They were developed chiefly to supply labour for the civil service as well as to answer the needs

of the economic expansion. However, the growth of higher education was dealt with more cautiously by the colonisers due to several reasons. First, the development of higher education required larger amounts of investment. Most governments would not be willing to spend on this sector unless it was urgently demanded. Second, colonisers understood that when the colonised people received more knowledge, it would be more difficult to control their interests. Therefore, the provision of higher education was more centralised and limited than schooling.

Schooling also differed from higher education in the degree of integration with the indigenous cultures. In places where the local schooling systems were not perceived as threats by the colonisers, some elements of the original cultures could be maintained and delivered to the students. As for higher education, although advanced learning institutions did exist in some Asian countries, such as India and Korea, the systems did not correspond to the Western concept of a university. Therefore, the structure, curriculum, language and faculty were imported from the metropolises.

In addition, since higher education was not mass education the recruitment of students was more selective. Students who were admitted were mainly children from local affluent families or children of the colonisers. Few students from the grass-roots level could have access to tertiary education. This resulted in producing a group of local students who were mentally very distant from their own societies. By building very subtle and emotional relationships with these elite groups, the colonial governments could secure sufficient loyal followers who helped reinforce the administration. It was not uncommon that these well-educated people failed to sustain a deep understanding of their societies and would depend heavily on the colonisers for instructions. When the political environment was changed, they might feel uncomfortable with the new power and choose to settle in the metropolises instead of serving the local community. In this case, many experiences and skills would be lost.

After knowing from the literature the general pattern of development in various colonies, one of the research foci in the following chapters will be to investigate to what extent Macau followed the same pattern.

## 4.5 Decolonisation and Schooling

Bray (1997, cited in Adamson and Li, 1999) argues that the nature of schooling during the processes of decolonisation has been commonly affected by these factors:

- (1) the amount of time available for preparation,
- (2) the attitude of the colonial powers towards decolonisation,
- (3) the available human resources, and
- (4) the form of the end product, including self-government or transfer of sovereignty.

When the process was violent or when the colonial powers were unenthusiastic towards the change, the development of schooling was limited. But in some countries, the provision of education could be expanded, and the colonisers and the colonised could work together to prepare for the change.

Adamson and Li (ibid.) identify several trends during periods of decolonisation:

- School subjects that are related to the development of national identity, such as history, social studies, will need to be re-oriented to fit the new regime.
- The colonial language might be under pressure while the indigenous language would be promoted.
- A countervailing trend in some post-colonial countries has been retention of aspects of the imported curriculum for technological progress and international trade.

One of the major challenges of post-colonial countries was to balance the need to consolidate a new national identity while maintaining or even strengthening the positive effects that have been brought along by the colonial powers.

Regarding the form of the end product, Bertram (1987, cited in Law, 1997b:43) argues that it can be classified into four types:

- (1) Self-government in free association with the former coloniser.
- (2) Integration with the coloniser in such a way that the colonised people enjoy the same constitutional rights as other citizens.
- (3) Full independence.
- (4) Incorporation into another state.

In most South East Asian countries, decolonisation belongs to the third category - full independence. But there are some exceptional cases, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau.

Taiwan does not fit into any of the above categories. When the Japanese occupation ended in 1945, it was returned to China. However, four years later, the Chinese civil war broke out. The Nationalist government moved to Taiwan and established a new capital in Taipei whereas the Communist Party established the People's Republic of China in the mainland. Since then the relationships between the two parties have been hostile. Taiwan has not declared itself an independent country and the PRC government has been continuously working through various channels to reunify with the island.

As for Hong Kong and Macau, their sovereignties were returned to China in 1997 and 1999 respectively. Hence, they belong to the fourth category. Nevertheless, the incorporations were made with the conditions that the capitalist systems could be maintained.

Owing to the historical background of Taiwan, its educational policy was strongly tied to politics during decolonisation. Taiwan underwent decades of political tension, both externally with the PRC government and internally between the indigenous people and those who moved to the island with the Nationalist Party. Within this context, it was not surprising that the educational system was highly subjected to government control (Young, 1995). At all levels of education, various measures, such as a centralised curriculum, were adopted by the Ministry of Education to exercise political monitoring over education. The use of authoritarian policies was to curb any divergent views and to preserve the power of the Party.



Resonating with Adamson and Li's argument, the Nationalist Party was enthusiastic in building a unified Chinese identity among the people of Taiwan. Young (ibid.) argues the roots of the Chinese cultural identity lie in a Confucian heritage. Therefore, the patterns of personal interaction in the Taiwanese textbooks appeared to be hierarchical in nature, resting on traditional, authoritarian relations. The contents encouraged Confucian family values and the role models that appeared in textbooks were primarily traditional and historical figures. On the other hand, the aboriginal culture of Taiwan was downplayed.

The Nationalist government defined Mandarin as the only politically legitimate language and the use of other languages was considered as a challenge to the party's rule (Hsiau, 1997). Nevertheless, since the mid-1980s, there was a strong rise of the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (Tsao, 1999). The political climate changed and there was a re-evaluation of Tai-yü, the language spoken by Minnanren, who occupied 73.7% of the total population, as a major language.

In addition, there were more demands from the society to decentralise the administration and to grant more autonomy to educational institutions. There was a gradual and controversial trend toward localisation. A new set of curricula was developed and it placed stronger emphasis on teaching local culture and history. But there was always a tension between the interests of the local people who did not necessarily identify themselves as Chinese and the emigrants from China who looked forward to building closer relationships with the mainland. Hsiau (1997, p. 314) argues: "There is a dilemma inherent in the construction of a nation which is inspired by the idea of the modern nation-state, namely, how to balance national identity (cohesion) with ethnic equality (multilingualism and multiculturalism)."

Education was a major area of government investment in Taiwan and the number of schools has increased more than four times from 1950s to 1990s. However, the investment was not evenly distributed on the island. Students in urban areas enjoyed better facilities and greater chances for advanced schooling than their peers in rural areas. The development of vocational education was also important to Taiwan's economic growth. Young (1995) argues that it is difficult to identify a

linear causal relationship between education and development for Taiwan. The two issues are interwoven. On the one hand, the centralised administration exercised by the Taiwan authority provided an environment for the rapid economic growth. On the other hand, it caused the suppression of educational freedom.

The story of Korea was as complicated as Taiwan's. After the Japanese occupation, it underwent a civil war, which resulted in the division of the peninsula into two opposing countries. Ilm (1995) argues that there was a rapid quantitative expansion of schooling after the Korean War. Similar to Taiwan, schooling in post-colonial South Korea served two main functions. One was to re-establish the national identity and the other was to boost economic development. This again resonated with Adamson and Li's notion that school subjects that were related to the development of national identity were re-oriented to fit the new era. Ilm (ibid.) mentions that after the Japanese colonisation, the level of educational access was minimal and only about 20% of the population were literate. Therefore, during the initial stage of schooling development, the policy was to strengthen the literacy for adults as well as to expand provision for school-age children. Universal enrolment in primary schools was achieved by 1960 and in secondary schools by 1980. Through manpower forecasting, the government also related the supply of educated people to the demands of the industrial sector in every stage of industrialisation.

The schooling system of South Korea, similar to other East Asian regions, such as Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong, used examinations as university gatekeepers. Therefore, the curriculum of secondary education might easily be reduced to a tool to prepare pupils for the college entrance exams. The majority of non-college-bound high school graduates were not readily prepared for employment. In 1991, the government called for a major revision of the secondary education system to strengthen vocational and technical education to solve this problem. However, there was a continuous challenge of enlarging the base of skilled and middle-level technical workers, while at the same time producing a larger number of high-level professional workers. Ilm (ibid.) concludes that the rigid manpower planning approach probably outlived its usefulness.

Mukherjee and Singh (1995) argue that after the independence of Malaysia, the development of the country could be divided into two stages: (1) the post-independence period of reconstruction of Malaysianisation between 1957 and 1970, and (2) the period which began with the commencement of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970.

The aim of the first stage was to set up a national educational system with Bahasa Malaysia as the national language while maintaining the languages and culture of the other races. The policy was to have a common language of instruction, a common curriculum, and common examinations. It also provided nine years of schooling to all children. However, the new government found that the minority races, which lived in urban areas benefited most from the policy and the Malay representation at most levels of education remained low.

The second stage aimed at alleviating poverty and social restructuring through increased educational opportunities for all Malaysians irrespective of race and special sponsorship for the Bumiputeras<sup>3</sup>. The Malaysian government anticipated that if the educational and occupational attainment of the Bumiputeras could reach that of the Chinese- and Indian-origin citizens, then national discontent would be eliminated. The government reduced the gap in educational opportunities between social and ethnic groups, expanded and reoriented education to meet manpower needs, especially in sciences and technologies.

The New Economic Policy was successful in equipping the indigenous people with more skills. The number of enrolments of the Bumiputeras has increased at all levels of education and they began to occupy more significant positions in both public and private sectors. Nevertheless, the NEP caused serious disappointments in the non-Malay groups, who were deprived of their shares of the pie.

The case of Malaysia supports Adamson and Li's argument that post-colonial school policies are often used to consolidate the national identity and that the local language, Bahasa Malaysia, would be promoted as the new official language. It also illustrates that during the post-colonial period, the government might execute new

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<sup>3</sup> Bumiputera is a Malaysian of Malay or other indigenous origin.

forms of “colonial” control over the minority groups. And the granting or limiting of educational opportunities was among the various methods of execution.

While the Malaysian government chose to use affirmative policy to adjust the gap in assessing educational resources between different ethnic groups, Singapore has adopted a different approach in dealing with its multi-ethnic society. After its independence in 1965, the economy began to take off in the 1970s. It was followed, at a preliminary stage, by a general upgrading of secondary education and, at a later stage, an expansion of post-secondary education. Similar to Taiwan and South Korea, the expansion of education was closely related to industrial development.

Gopinathan (1995) argues that schooling was made economically relevant through diversifying the curriculum. By acquiring relevant knowledge, workers could benefit from increased incomes and improved status. As for the country, more skilled labour could be provided to sustain economic growth. The Singaporean government also took great care to maintain the quality of education in the face of expansion. High level governmental spending poured in. Similar to Malaysia and Taiwan, educational policies were very centralised. However, instead of focusing on catering for a particular group of people, attention was given to create cohesion among different ethnic groups. The state-sponsored mass education aimed at achieving individual development, economic growth, identity formation, and group cohesion.

The economic development of Singapore was undoubtedly a successful story. Gopinathan (ibid.) argues that its success could be attributed to several factors advocated by the “strong state” thesis: (1) control of state bureaucrats over education, (2) proportion of economy directly controlled or owned by the state, (3) existence of a basic educational infrastructure, and (4) curriculum standardisation. The development could be divided into two stages. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the educational growth was important in incorporating more young citizens into a modernising social institution, and in providing wider opportunities to learn English. Increased literacy was also beneficial to the economy.

Hence, Singapore illustrated the argument of Adamson and Li that in certain post-colonial countries, some aspects of the colonial influence would be retained in

order to boost the technological or economic progress. This was a point, which was not observed in the previous three cases. The government promoted the language of the coloniser, instead of suppressing it. This policy served three main purposes. First, English served as a communication channel for citizens of all races. Second, it was a means to maintain the competitiveness of the country in the international arena. Third, by acquiring English, Singaporean people, regardless of their races, could reinforce their new national identity.

From the 1980s onward, the contribution of manpower with polytechnic qualifications, and in the university sector, the production of professionals, and individuals with the capacity to innovate, to research and develop, might have been more significant.

However, Singapore society was not completely problem-free. Gopinathan (ibid.) mentions that there were conflicts between the English-competent and the Chinese-competent Chinese. And when the school curriculum was progressively being democratised, there were worries that this would create a lesser degree of cohesion among different ethnic groups.

As for Hong Kong, unlike other colonies, it experienced a relatively long period of transition before the actual change of sovereignty. Postiglione (1992, p.6) argues:

Education plays a role in Hong Kong's transitional period insofar as it shapes the thinking of the generation that will lead Hong Kong after 1997. It influences the selection criteria for recruitment into important positions within the civil service of the transitional government; it works to maintain a highly skilled labor force in the face of the large-scale emigration of talented people from the territory; it determines, to some extent, the degree of interaction between the educational systems of Hong Kong and other parts of China; it influences school socialization processes that build a cultural identity essential for reuniting people in Hong Kong with the rest of China, and finally, it bolsters or restrains the general process of democratization in the society.

He argues that educational changes will be found more in the content of education than in the form or structure of the system. For instance, social studies,

history, and language curricula may be revised. This idea resonates with Adamson and Li's view that subjects, which are related to the development of national identity may need to be re-oriented.

Before the handover of Hong Kong, the following changes were observed. First, Putonghua, the national spoken language, was promoted. Second, there were more debates over the development of civic education and the introduction of the concept of patriotism. Third, textbooks were rewritten by publishers with a degree of self-censorship (Adamson and Li, 1999). Fourth, the Director of Education suggested that history books should avoid covering the past twenty years on the grounds that it would be difficult to achieve historical objectivity.

However, after the change of sovereignty, the general public expressed more concerns over the quality of education rather than its political orientation. Many people complained that the curriculum was too examination-oriented and students were overloaded with homework. Furthermore, the standards in both Chinese and English languages were declining. Hence, Hong Kong has been facing a critical challenge in re-evaluating its overall schooling system.

The above shows that schooling served several purposes during the post-colonisation period. First, it helped reconstruct the new identity of the people through the changes in language policies as well as in other subject areas, such as history and civic education. Second, it increased the literacy rate and skills of the people so that higher-level manpower could be provided to the industrial and commercial sectors. Third, it provided fairer opportunities to minority groups in the society, which might have been exploited during the colonised period.

#### **4.6 Decolonisation and Higher Education**

Different modes of decolonisation will have different impacts on the policies of higher education. For instance, when Malaysia became independent in 1957, new policies were implemented at the University of Malaya to signify the change (Mukherjee and Singh, 1995).

First, higher education was expanded through the increase in government expenditure and student enrolments. This was aimed at providing more chances for Bumiputeras to gain higher education and consequently to take up high-level scientific, technical and research posts.

Second, the government adjusted the admission quotas and promoted specialised science and technology institutions in order to improve the number of scientific, professional and vocational graduates. The Eurocentric curriculum was de-emphasised and the administration system in the university and the curricula were more responsive to the needs of the local society (Selvaratnam, 1989). For instance, with the introduction of the Industrial Master Plan in 1986, scientific research were more closely connected to the national development of rubber and oil palm.

Third, the independence also brought along a greater emphasis on the Muslim religion. This attitude could be illustrated by the integration of a Muslim college into the university.

Fourth, expatriate staff was substituted by Malay scholars. However, it was also important to note that many Malay scholars were educated overseas. And they would possibly bring along with them knowledge, ideas and attitudes from the West.

Fifth, the medium of instruction, which was a critical symbol that signified the sovereignty, was also changed from English to the new national language, Bahasa Malaysia, in 1983.

As mentioned previously, Mukherjee and Singh (1995) argue that the new government provided more privileges to the indigenous Bumiputeras, who began to take up high-level positions in various fields. This adversely caused the non-Bumiputeras to respond by striving for openings in the private sector locally and in overseas tertiary institutions. A high degree of alienation and a feeling of despair were evident among the non-Malays.

As for Singapore, Kumnuch (1996) suggests it knew that it had to depend on industrialisation to survive after it attained self-governance status in 1959. Hence, the educational system emphasised more on developing technical and scientific courses. However, Gopinathan (1989) argues that there was a steady erosion of freedom on the part of the vice-chancellors in relation to government requirements. Similar to

Malaysia, the government adopted a centralised approach toward the governance of the university. He notes that: “University autonomy in the traditional sense does not exist. The National University of Singapore is an instrument under the clear influence of the political establishment and an agent of government policy.” (p.222)

Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945 and was managed by the U. S. Military government. Lee (1989) argues the Military government adopted a strategy for reshaping Korean education. First, it appointed many Korean educators to become advisors for governmental affairs on education. Second, it made an effort to send Korean educators and students to the United States. In addition, many aid programs were set up to reinforce the links between Korean and American institutions.

These policies led to the implementation of the four-year undergraduate education system and the organisation of the Korean Association of Colleges and Universities in 1947. Democratic principles were also encouraged in describing educational objectives in higher education.

Besides these changes, tertiary education has expanded rapidly since the 1940s (Ihm, 1995 and Lee, 1989). There were various factors that contributed to this phenomenon, such as the continuous rise in the birth rate, the development in both public and private sectors, and the traditional view that higher education was the means for upward social mobility. Under this massive expansion, people were concerned with the quality of education. Therefore, many institutions were committed to train and develop their faculty.

However, the expansion created a surplus of graduates, resulting in a high rate of unemployment. There was a shortage of lower-level skilled workers, and a surplus of white-collar workers. Lee (1989, p. 244) notes: “The negative criticism of an overemphasis on higher education in aid programs notes that overproduction of college and university graduates resulted in increased unemployment of graduates.”

The above shows Korean higher education was strongly influenced by American educators and American-educated scholars. Their effects ranged from teaching methods, curriculum development to administration. In the 1970s, conflicts began to rise between the American-educated young scholars and the old academic



members who had no doctoral degrees. This tension divided the Korean academy into two groups. Then the Academy of Korean Studies was founded with government support. It promoted the teaching of traditional Korean culture, philosophy, history and literature. Therefore, similar to Malaysia, consolidation of national identity was promoted at universities, but it happened at a later stage.

Taiwan was restored to China after the Japanese rule and Chinese culture was resumed on the island (Wu, Chen and Wu, 1989). In 1945, the Taihoku Imperial University was renamed National Taiwan University. However, there was a language problem. Since many Taiwanese did not speak Mandarin, they could not understand the Chinese professors. Therefore, Mandarin lessons were given to university freshmen.

In 1949, the Nationalist government escaped to Taiwan after the civil war. Due to the political belief that the Nationalist Party would one day reclaim the mainland, education became a means to spread this idea. Again, like Malaysia and Korea, higher education was centralised. The Ministry of Education controlled strictly the establishment of each institution and the enrolment of each department. Courses, such as “The Three Principles of the People” which was later retitled “The Doctrine of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen”, and military training were listed in all tertiary institutions. Public universities were heavily subsidised by the government and students benefited from a low-tuition-fee policy (Young, 1995). Unfortunately, similar to South Korea, the problem of “educational unemployment” emerged in recent years.

In Indonesia, several changes in higher education were observed after the Dutch colonial rule (Cummings and Kasenda, 1989). First, the medium of instruction was changed to the local Indonesian language. Second, more local staff was recruited. Third, there was an increase in the number of faculties, courses and students. Fourth, the courses were indigenised and focused more on local issues. Fifth, similar to other ex-colonies, higher education institutions were expected to comply with the authorities.

In post-independent India, on the one hand, westernised colleges continued to exist and they catered mainly for the elite. On the other hand, Hindi colleges were

established and they accepted students from middle- and lower middle-class background. Foreign assistance programs were also developed. For instance, Harvard Business School and MIT from the United States began to seek close co-operation with local institutions. Like Singapore, English was still a popular language in India. This shows that the colonised people could rationally select what is most benefited for them from the colonisers.

In Hong Kong, the change of sovereignty initiated several changes in the higher education sector. In 1996, before the actual handover, the University Grants Committee unified the terms of service for all newly recruited or renewed expatriates and local staff, and the majority of top university executive posts were taken by ethnic Chinese (Law, 1997b). The government also adopted a mass education policy hoping to increase the number of university graduates. This policy obliged traditional elite universities, such as the University of Hong Kong, to share the pie with other new institutions. Higher education institutions developed new orientations on their own in order to strive for excellence in the competitive higher education community (Liu, 1996).

#### **4.7 Summary: Features of Decolonisation**

As seen in the above cases, higher education was expanded rapidly after colonisation and governments took more active roles in the development process. Universities changed from serving a small elite group during the colonial period to catering for more students.

In most places, especially those that have experienced an unstable historical past, such as Taiwan, education was critical for reconstructing national identities. In multi-ethnic countries, such as Singapore, it was a tool to unite people from various ethnic groups.

Tertiary education was necessary for the provision of skilled manpower to serve the modernisation of the countries. The cases showed that the expansion of higher education was often a response to the economic needs of the society.

Due to the fact that higher education was so significant to a country, many governments, such as Malaysia and Taiwan, exerted great control over the operation of universities, including the development of curriculum, the recruitment of staff, and the enrolment of students. It was also interesting to observe that some governments, such as Korea and Singapore, adopted foreign models, though the level of implementation of educational autonomy was questionable. This showed that new governments were selective and practical in determining the systems, which they found most suitable.

The expansion of higher education, plus other necessary conditions, such as economic growth, support the growth of a middle class, which in turn, encourages the process of democratisation (Young, 1995). Therefore, the relationship between education and politics is not a simple linear equation. On the one hand, universities can help the authorities convey their ideologies. On the other hand, by gaining more knowledge through tertiary education, people can change the attitudes of the governments through their participation in social activities.

In general, the educational policies that are imposed on schooling and higher education during a post-colonial period are similar. However, the degree of centralisation of authority is more serious in the latter. The exercise of control is reflected in areas, such as curriculum development, administration, selection of the medium of instruction, building of nationalism, speed of expansion, and level of investment.

#### **4.8 Neo-colonialism and Higher Education**

Altbach (1998) suggests colonial traditions have a continuing impact on the nature of higher education even when the colonial period has ended:

- The most obvious is that of language. In some ex-colonies, the language of the coloniser continues to be the medium of instruction in higher education.
- Many universities maintain a liberal arts orientation and the metropolitan system of the education.

- In some Third World countries, universities remain elitist institutions.
- Higher education is provided with the ultimate aim to produce a loyal civil service.
- Universities are established in capitals, which are far away from the rural majorities.

Besides these effects, some former colonisers continue to exert their powers on ex-colonies in various manners. In order to illustrate this phenomenon, the concepts of 'centre and periphery' and 'neocolonialism' will be discussed.

Altbach (ibid.) notes that universities in the metropolises and universities in the colonies established a 'centre-periphery' relationship. Intellectual centres are universities that give direction, produce research and are at the core of the academic system. Peripheral universities are those that copy developments from abroad, produce little that is original, and are not at the frontiers of knowledge. Owing to this 'centre-periphery' relationship, universities in the Third World need to rely on the universities in industrial countries even if colonisation has officially ended. Several factors are critical for the international inequality that exists among universities:

- The development of modern universities is a Western tradition, and this tradition has never considered the educational traditions of the Third World.
- The language of higher education in many Third World nations is a Western language.
- Third World nations are basically consumers of knowledge rather than producers.
- The means of communication of knowledge, such as journals and publishers, are in the hands of the industrialised nations.
- Large numbers of students from the Third World study in the industrialised nations.

Regarding neocolonialism, Altbach (ibid., p.31) suggests: "neocolonialism ... consists of the policies of the industrialized nations that attempt to maintain their domination over the Third World." Neocolonisation can be exerted in different ways.

such as the development of foundations and philanthropy programs (Berman, 1984). These programs can be conducted in two directions. One is to send experts to selected Third World universities to offer their knowledge and advice. The other is to invite scholars from Third World nations to the metropolitan centres to receive learning opportunities. For instance, the educational aid program provided by the American military government to Korea after the Japanese occupation was a manifestation of neocolonialism, though officially the United States has never colonised South Korea.

The existence of these programs has created an interesting scenario. On the one hand, scholars from less developed countries can acquire more advanced knowledge. On the other hand, industrialised nations can take this opportunity to spread selected ideas and influences to the people that they find suited. However, there is no guarantee that the expenditures spent by the foundations will result in the process that they envision. As Berman (*ibid.*, p. 268) suggests: “there always exists the possibility that certain students will reject, modify, or selectively choose particular elements from among those ideologies emphasized.”

During the post-colonial period, many ex-colonies were affected by neo-colonisation. For instance, in Hong Kong, the use of English as the medium of instruction in higher institutions remains unchanged. And competency in the English language continues to be treasured by all sectors in the society. This phenomenon resonates with Altbach’s (1998) argument that the use of the language of the coloniser has the most significant impact on higher education.

Second, British universities are actively recruiting students through organising large-scale exhibition fairs, offering courses taught by their teaching staff both in Hong Kong and Britain, and running joint degree programs with Hong Kong institutions (Liu, 1995). This is a demonstration of how the ‘centre’ universities are exerting influences on the people of the former colonies. This is also an effect of marketisation of higher education. In fact, not only British universities are doing this. Universities from major English-speaking countries, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia are also organising similar activities.

The third neocolonising measure is to increase the power of the University Grants Committee (UGC) as membership of the UGC is dominated by scholars from overseas, particularly British institutions. This reflects that although Hong Kong is decolonised, it still maintains a close relationship with the metropolitan academic arena.

In some countries, the universities tried to eliminate the colonial influence by indigenisation. As mentioned in the above, Malaysia adopted Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction and replaced expatriate staff with local staff. But whether these policies were truly constructive was doubtful because many Malay scholars were educated overseas. The employment of local staff might not promise true independence from foreign influence.

The fundamental problem that ex-colonies are facing is “how to decolonize the process of modernization without ending it”(Mazrui 1984, p.273). And as far as higher education is concerned, the question is how to improve the quality with the right blend of internationalisation and indigenisation. He suggests three strategies for development, which can decrease the level of dependency of African universities. These strategies are worth consideration by Asian educators.

The first strategy is domestication, which is to enable the local society to influence the university policy. Three major areas have to be re-examined: university admissions requirements and their implications for primary and secondary curricula, criteria for faculty recruitment, and university organisation. The second strategy is diversification. Mazrui (*ibid.*, p.286) notes: “reliance on a diversity of external civilizations may be the beginning of autonomy.” The third strategy is counterpenetration. This refers to the need that local society must develop its capacity to innovate independently.

The above discussion shows that neocolonisation is commonly found in former colonies. On the one hand, through neocolonising policies, these regions can continue to acquire advanced knowledge and technologies from the industrial nations. On the other hand, they may become over-dependent on the metropolises and indigenisation of education and research will be difficult. Several elements can be assessed to decide the extent of neocolonisation:

- The background of the faculty.
- The language used for instruction.
- The relationship between the peripheral universities and the universities at the metropolises.
- The nature of the curriculum.
- The degree of emphasis on local cultures and experiences.
- The degree of distortion of local values.
- The purposes of the university.

The development of education in former colonies will be the best if the process of modernisation continues and the process of dependency is eliminated. Therefore, universities must be careful in choosing what to import. They need to consider what skills are needed locally and what indigenous values should be sustained.

#### **4.9 Impacts of Recolonisation**

Law (1997b) argues that besides decolonisation and neocolonisation, sovereignty transfer has a third type of impact – recolonisation. Recolonisation means that the new sovereign power has to adopt certain policies to consolidate its ruling status.

He suggests that recolonisation took place in Hong Kong long before the actual change of political power. For instance, the PRC government established the New China News Agency, the representative of the central government, in Hong Kong in 1982. The Chinese government also delegated power to a small elite group to elect the first Chief Executive of the new SAR government.

In the sector of higher education, newer dimensions were opened mutually for contact and co-operation between the mainland and Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Governor unprecedentedly appointed the managing director of a PRC-funded corporation and the deputy president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences into the UGC in 1994 and 1996 respectively. The PRC government opened up the

application for National Natural Science Awards to ethnic Chinese scientists based in Hong Kong and Macau from 1989. The Chinese government also hosted visits for higher education policy makers and executives from Hong Kong. In addition, it appointed Hong Kong university executives into the PRC-controlled political committees for handling the takeover of Hong Kong.

Although the Chinese government was active in recolonising Hong Kong before the political change, there were also signs that showed some resistance to recolonisation. Law (ibid.) argues that many academics wanted to maintain a high level of autonomy in their profession. For instance, the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong allowed their teachers to select their deans and department heads through ballot sheets instead of being appointed by the government. Other critical incidents, which illustrated the independence of the teachers and students in Hong Kong, were their high level of participation in the demonstration against the 'June 4' Student Movement in 1989 and also the recent demonstration against the enactment of the '23' decree in July 2003.

#### **4.10 Implications**

This chapter shows that politics is closely connected to education. Political changes will trigger educational changes, and vice versa. There are several elements that can be observed to show and justify the impact of changes. They provide a basis for the investigation of Macau in the following chapters.

##### **4.10.1 The Purposes of Education**

During a colonial period, both schooling and higher education serve to provide skilled labour for the economic development as well as the administration of the civil service. When the sovereignty of a country has been changed, the purposes of education will switch from catering for the colonisers to establishing the new national identity and taking care of the local needs. For instance, when Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore were decolonised, the main purposes of education were to re-construct



the identity of the local people and to train manpower for the expansion of the industrial sector. Instead of serving a small elite group, education at various levels was expanded and more people could be benefited.

#### **4.10.2 Centralisation of Power**

The development of education, especially higher education, was highly centralised during post-colonisation. Centralisation of power is beneficial in the sense that society can be strictly monitored, and a relatively stable environment can be maintained for the expansion of the economy. Nevertheless, over centralisation will dampen the democratic advancement in education and arouse more dissatisfaction among the people.

#### **4.10.3 Curriculum**

Decolonisation leads to significant changes to the curriculum. Subjects that are related to the establishment of national identity will be mostly affected. For instance, in Hong Kong, civic education and history courses at schooling level were revised to reflect the political orientation of the government. In Taiwan, military training was added to the university curriculum. Hence, curriculum can clearly reflect the political ideology of a government.

In other countries, new courses were added to fulfil the local needs. For example, in Malaysia and Singapore, scientific and technical courses, rather than arts and social sciences courses, are emphasised at university level to accommodate the economic and industrial development.

#### **4.10.4 Medium of Instruction**

Similar to the curriculum, the medium of instruction is a good indicator of political changes. This is especially true at the higher education sector. For instance, in Malaysia and South Korea, local languages replace languages of the colonisers to

become the media of instruction at universities. This movement reflects that language is a key symbol of the sovereign power.

However, there are countries, which prefer to maintain the status of the language of the coloniser. In Singapore, English continues to be one of the four official languages. This strategy reflects Singapore's determination in uniting all the four ethnic groups while preserving the means of communication with the international environment. Comparatively, in Hong Kong, the government maintains English as the chief means of communication in the universities because Hong Kong is an extrovert economy. It is important for the people to equip with the English language for economic purpose.

#### **4.10.5 Structure**

Another feature that needed to be observed is the structural change that happened to the education system, both at schooling and higher education levels. For example, after the Japanese occupation, the education system in Taiwan was modified based on the Chinese model. In Korea, the American model was implanted. In Hong Kong, the Education Commission recommended the introduction of a standardised sixth form education, and the extension of university education from three years to four years (Postiglione, 1992). Nevertheless, this proposal was not executed due to the high financial cost involved in extending university education and the concern with finding competent lecturers to staff it.

#### **4.10.6 Recruitment of Faculty and Enrolment of Students**

Political changes also affect the policies of faculty recruitment and student enrolment especially in higher education. More chances will be given to local scholars and local students. For instance, in Malaysia many expatriate staff were replaced by Malay scholars. Similarly, in Hong Kong, more ethnic Chinese were promoted to higher levels in tertiary institutions. Nonetheless, it is essential to note that these scholars

often received their education abroad and they also brought along with them Western ideas and knowledge.

#### **4.10.7 Academic Independence or Dependence**

As discussed previously, colonial traditions have a continuing impact on the nature of higher education (Altbach, 1989). For instance, during the colonial period, the higher education of Hong Kong depended heavily on Britain. The change of sovereignty has not ceased this phenomenon immediately. Nevertheless, as argued by Law (1997b), the relationship between Hong Kong academics and Chinese academics is getting closer. The mainland was eager to allow more intellectuals from Hong Kong to participate in its development and Hong Kong is also willing to enjoy the abundance of high-level human resources from China. Although the Hong Kong government is still very cautious in the quantity of imported Chinese experts, it is forecasted that the trend will proceed further.

#### **4.11 Conclusion**

This chapter shows that political changes created serious impacts on the education system. From the literature review, a list of issues was identified as the basis for investigation for this thesis. These issues include:

- The ideology of educational provision.
- The changes in curriculum development.
- The changes in medium of instruction.
- The development of national identity.
- The structure and administration of educational systems.
- The policy of faculty recruitment.
- The policy of student admission.
- The level of expansion of higher education.
- The level of governmental investment.

- The level of academic autonomy.
- The nature of relationship between the university and Portugal.
- The nature of relationship between the university and other foreign countries.
- The nature of relationship between the university and China.

This chapter reveals that although there are similar trends, each colony has a different experience. The thesis will focus on identifying the similarities between Macau and the literature as well as the special features that contribute to its different outcomes in chapter 6 and chapter 7.

In chapter 5, the research methodology of this thesis will be discussed.

## **Chapter 5: Methodology**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In the last chapter, the impacts of political changes on education were discussed. In this chapter, the nature of research and various research methods for social sciences and education will be investigated in order to decide what kind of empirical data need to be collected and how. The method for data collection for this thesis is shown in details. Issues, such as ethics and sampling are also discussed.

### **5.2 The Nature of Research**

There are three major means that man employs to understand his environment: experience, reasoning, and research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Research has some outstanding features, which distinguish it from experience and reasoning. First, it is systematic and controlled. Second, it is empirical. Third, it is self-correcting. The procedures and results of research are open to public replication and criticisms.

However, in the area of education, there is a tendency to depend on experience rather than research to gain advancement. Fortunately more research have been done recently by using the social sciences approaches. And because of this, educational research has taken the two differing approaches of the social sciences.

The first approach considers that social sciences are similar to natural sciences and the researchers should focus on discovering universal laws that regulate and determine individual and social behaviour. Shipman (1997, p. 23) argues:

Scientific approaches, looking for explanations, for laws, are deterministic. Effects have causes. It is a short step from there to a view of the social world where humans are driven by forces beyond their control. The causes of behavior can be seen to lie in preceding events rather than in human effort. Intelligence is seen as inherited and fixed at birth.

Durkheim's 1895 work, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, showed how social facts could be treated as things. His rules are described as positivist. Shipman (ibid., p. 25) notes:

Positivism therefore assumed a passive human subject to laws. The social world was determined. There were causes of events. Research would discover these laws by producing indicators of those events and relating them through statistical analysis.

The second approach sees that people are different from natural phenomena and researchers should look at their intentions, feelings, and interpretations of the social reality. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p.26) mention: "Applied to educational contexts qualitative or naturalistic research recognizes that what goes on in our schools and classrooms is made up of complex layers of meanings, interpretations, values, and attitudes."

G. H. von Wright (1993) suggests that a better name for the antipositivist philosophy of science is hermeneutics and the aim of the hermeneutic researcher is to understand the phenomena and people's own understanding of the phenomena.

Both positivistic and hermeneutics approaches have strengths and limitations. Positivism suffers from the fact that "no matter how exact measurement may be, it can never give us an experience of life, for life cannot be weighed and measured on a physical scale" (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p. 24). Its application to the study of human behaviour and social phenomenon is still questionable. As for the hermeneutic approach, it is argued that it has gone too far in giving up scientific procedures of verification and the hope of discovering generalisations about behaviour. In addition, the researchers will find great difficulty in evaluating the degree of truthfulness, which is presented by the subjects.

Besides these two paradigms, there is a third approach to educational research – critical educational research. The critical theory focuses on what behaviour in a social democracy should be. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p. 28) note:

Its intention is not merely to give an account of society and behaviour but to realize a society that is based on equality and democracy for all its members. Its purpose is not merely to understand situations and phenomena but to change them. In particular it seeks to emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society.

Critical theory also has its criticisms. Morrison (1995, cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, *ibid.*) argues that whether a person or a group becomes emancipated by the exercise of the critical theory is an empirical rather than logical matter. It has not yet shown that societies are emancipated simply by the use of this theory and not by other means.

The above discussion reveals the different natures of positivistic, hermeneutic, and critical approaches to research. They have different foci and aim to achieve different purposes. Their research tools also tend to differ. In general, positivist investigators will use traditional research tools, such as surveys, experiments, and the like. Those who prefer a hermeneutic approach will choose techniques, such as participant observation, personal constructs, and the analysis of texts, which allow them insight into people's understandings. Critical theorists will use ideology critique and action research.

The effective application of a research approach depends on the careful consideration of the investigator and the nature of the study itself. It will be unwise to argue for a particular approach without referring to the context and contents of the research topic.

### **5.3 The Purposes of Comparative Education**

Noah and Eckstein (1998) note that there are five stages in the development of comparative education.

The first stage consisted of travellers' reports, which were mostly descriptions of educational institutions and practices in foreign countries.

The second stage resonated with the establishment of national systems of education in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Studies were focused on educational theory,

methodology, finance, and organisation that were adopted by other countries. Most of the works that were produced took the form of encyclopedic descriptions of foreign school systems and they were seldom explanatory.

The third stage focused on the exchange of information among different countries with the intent to break down the barriers. The development of international networks was encouraged and academic institutions could have more chances to understand one another.

During the fourth stage, the relationships between society and education were emphasised. Noah and Eckstein (p. 16) note: "The concern now was to understand the interaction of education and society by analyzing the historical forces and contemporary factors that had shaped both".

The fifth stage corresponded with the increasing importance of quantitative techniques that were used in social sciences research. Quantitative studies began to gain more attention in comparative education. But it was also recognised that there were many difficulties facing the application.

Similar to other social sciences, comparative education can achieve different purposes. It can be a description of foreign educational policy or an investigation of factors that cause certain educational phenomenon. The nature of comparisons can also be different. Bray (1999) notes that comparisons can be locational, i.e. comparisons of phenomena in different regions, or temporal.

Comparative education has three major weaknesses: the problems of bias, utility of results, and eclecticism in both methodology and data (Noah and Eckstein (1998). Bias exists in every stage of the work, from the identification of problem to the drawing of conclusions. It is particularly serious when non-Western societies are studied because researchers will commonly assume that these societies will follow the developmental pattern of Western societies. As for the utility of results, the findings of comparative educators have not yet been appraised highly by planners and policy makers because the predictive value of their works has yet to be demonstrated. This shows that most people have a positivist view and expect research to generate models that can predict future happenings. The last problem concerns whether comparative education can be clearly identified as a field of inquiry. Sociologists,



economists, historians and the like, can all claim expertise in the field. There are no clear boundaries over which comparative educators can range their discourse.

On the other hand, the field has its own potentials. First, cross-national studies are often needed when data of different countries can be compared and generalisations can be tested. Second, it can provide a platform where experts from diverse social sciences can interact.

However, Crossley and Watson (2003) argue that there is an “ongoing dominance of positivistic assumptions and paradigms in the agendas of powerful development agencies and government bureaucracies” (p. 49) and that the field of comparative education needs reconceptualisation in the new century. In order to bridge the different cultures and perspectives in the field and acknowledge the insights that come from the hermeneutic paradigm, there is a need to “increased sensitivity to context” (p. 142).

#### **5.4 Objectives of the Thesis**

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Macau is small and less prosperous when contrasted with Hong Kong. Many people have overlooked its significance. The researcher chooses to study Macau believing that it has a unique historical and social development. The researcher hopes to create “increased sensitivity to context” by using the hermeneutic approach.

This thesis has two main objectives. First, it identifies and understands the changes that happened to Macau’s higher education system during the colonisation and decolonisation period of the city through the eyes of the actors who are involved in this process. It aims to understand how these people perceive the changes, what their emotions towards the development are, and what their suggestions are for the future outlook.

Second, the development of the university will be compared to generalisations about higher education in post-colonial regions to see if there are any commonalities and diversities. This is to attempt to locate Macau’s case in a wider context. The aim

is to understand relationship between the context and the phenomenon, and not just comparing hard data obtained from documents.

The research investigates the University of Macau because it is the oldest modern university in the territory. Its twenty-year history reflects the relationship between political change and higher education. Of course, the evolution of the university cannot represent the whole picture of higher education in Macau, but it is one of the most significant parts.

## **5.5 Style of the Research**

This thesis follows the hermeneutic paradigm believing that people construct their own meanings of situations and that data are context-related. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) note that the hermeneutic inquiry differs from the positivist approach in various ways. It is concerned “more with description rather than prediction, induction rather than deduction, generation rather than verification of theory, construction rather than enumeration, and subjectivities rather than objective knowledge” (p. 139). The researcher believes that the world is made up of individuals, who have freedom to choose their actions. Individual behaviour interacts to form social behaviour, which may be more complex than the natural world. In addition, the researcher cannot be taken out of the context because she is also a member of the society. To understand the phenomenon, the researcher needs to understand the context.

This thesis does not aim at generating a theory for prediction of future events but attempts to develop a grounded theory of the evolution of higher education in Macau, which is context-bounded. The researcher first studies the literature and develops the general colonisation and decolonisation pattern. Then within the framework of these patterns, empirical research is done by interviewing seven people, who have experienced the impact of political change on higher education at different levels and at different time periods. Their responses to a list of semi-structured questions are the most important evidence for the thesis. Their responses are

compared to the general pattern. Similarities and diversities are identified and analysed.

The purpose of doing so is to have a better grasp of the relationship between the context and higher education. On the one hand, this research can contribute to the current knowledge by adding one more case. On the other hand, by comparing with other regions, the local system can be studied and understood in a more complete approach. Sadler (1900, cited in Hans, 1949, p.3) argues: “The practical value of studying in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own.”

## **5.6 Method for Data Collection**

The style of the research is qualitative. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 17) note that: “By the term qualitative research we mean any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons’ lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organizational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships.”

According to Strauss and Corbin (*ibid.*), there are three major components of qualitative research: the data, the interpretive procedures, and the writing report. And a well-constructed grounded theory will meet four criteria: fit, understanding, generality, and control. In other words, the theory must fit the reality, the people in the context must understand the theory, the theory must be abstract enough to apply to a variety of contexts related to the phenomenon, and it should provide control with regard to action toward the phenomenon.

The method for data collection is interview. The researcher agrees to Kitwood’s (1977, cited in Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2000) conception that the interview is an encounter necessarily sharing many of the features of everyday life.

Similarly, Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) note that the interview is a piece of social interaction and the researcher has to be aware of six areas that may affect the research:

- Researcher effects.
- Characteristics of the researcher.
- Characteristics of the interviewee.
- Nature of the researcher-interviewee relationship.
- The interview as a speech event.
- Interviews have an ethnographic context.

The researcher believes that there is no chance to eliminate all the errors that may emerge. The job of the interviewer is not to control the interview situation, but to acknowledge the possible errors.

For this research, semi-structured interviews will be used because they allow the interviewees to expand their answers without drifting too far away from the theme. Semi-structured interview can obtain a balance between the rigid structured interview and the casual non-standardised interview. The objectives of conducting interviews for this research are to extract both facts and opinions from actual participants of events.

The steps of conducting the interview are discussed in the following sections.

#### **5.6.1 Determination of the Research Problem and the Literature Review**

The researcher chooses to study this research problem because of her personal experience. She has been a teacher at the university during the period of political transition and is interested in knowing its effects on the university through understanding people who have experiences about the change.

After determining the research problem, the researcher reviews the current literature. Strauss and Corbin (1990) note that the technical literature has several uses in grounded theory research. They are:

- It can be used to stimulate theoretical sensitivity by providing concepts and relationships that are checked out against actual data.
- It can be used as secondary sources of data.
- It can stimulate questions.
- It can direct theoretical sampling.
- It can be used as supplementary validation.

All these points have been observed in this research.

### **5.6.2 Designing the Interviews**

Based on the concepts and relationships, which are provided in the literature, questions were designed for the interviews. When designing the questions the following factors have been considered.

- The objectives of the interview.
- Whether the interviewer wants to obtain facts or opinions from the interviewees.
- The kind of information that the interviewee is expected to have.

Although the list of questions has a basic structure, the sequence of the questions may not be followed strictly. Unexpected questions may probe into the situation depending on the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. ‘Funnel’ questions will also be asked when certain references have to be made clearly before asking the specific questions.

### **5.6.3 Interviewing**

Seven interviews have been done over a period of seventeen months from September 2001 to January 2003. All interviews have been arranged personally with the interviewees at times and places chosen at their convenience. All the questions were

sent to the interviewees beforehand, though some of them did not make this a particular requirement.

The researcher understands that the interview is a social event, where there is interaction between the two participants. The researcher tried not to influence the responses of the interviewees by restraining from giving any opinions. But there were also times that her nodding and smiling were expressions of her own feelings. These body gestures were parts of the communication and might affect the interviewees.

The researcher agrees to the view that the interview is a social, interpersonal encounter, not merely a data collection exercise (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Therefore, a critical task for the researcher is to establish an atmosphere so that the interviewees can feel comfortable and talk openly about their own opinions.

#### **5.6.4 Language**

Cantonese was used in five interviews, English one and Putonghua one. All the data except that from the English interview, were translated into English when analysing and writing the results. Most informants, in fact, could speak fluent English, but they expressed their preference in doing the interviews in Cantonese, which was their mother tongue. The quality of translation was an issue, which the researcher cannot fully assure. But every endeavour has been made to translate the transcript as honest to the original meaning as possible.

#### **5.6.5 Transcribing**

All the interviews were taped with a recorder and verbatim records of what the informants said were made. The problem with this method was that the machine filtered out all the visual and non-verbal elements of the interviews. Mishler (1991, cited in Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, *ibid.*) argues rightly that data and the relationship between meaning and language are contextually situated; they are unstable, changing and capable of endless interpretation. The researcher tried to

capture the non-verbal elements by marking the tones of the interviewees, their emotions, and the emphases of the interviewees.

The finished transcripts were then sent back to the interviewees so that they could correct the wordings if they found necessary. Most interviewees did make some adjustments on the transcripts. This procedure allowed the ideas of the interviewees to be specifically and accurately represented. It also gave more confidence to the interviewees that their opinions would not be abused or used against their interests.

#### **5.6.6 Data Analysis**

The theory used to structure the data is the theories of colonisation and decolonisation, which underlie the interview questions. However, the transcripts were analysed by performing the mechanisms of grounded theory. Three types of coding were performed: open, axial, and selective. First, open coding was done. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 62) refer to open coding as “the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomenon through close examination of data. Categories in the data were identified and named. The researcher performed the coding paragraph by paragraph.

Then axial coding was performed. In this process, connections were made between categories. Strauss and Corbin (*ibid.*, p. 99) note: “In grounded theory we link subcategories to a category in a set of relationships denoting causal conditions, phenomenon, context, intervening conditions, action/interactional strategies, and consequences.”

Last, but not the least, selective coding was done. It was the process of relating the core categories to the other categories, and validating these relationships, aiming to develop a theory, which was grounded to the context.

The data from the interviews will be presented in chapters 6 and 7.

## **5.7 The Problem of Trustworthiness of Findings**

In order to establish the trustworthiness of naturalistic findings, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest five main issues: objectivity, dependability, credibility, transferability, and application. How this research probe into these issues will be discussed in the following sections.

### **5.7.1 Objectivity**

One way to achieve objectivity in conducting research is to avoid bias. The researcher understands that bias can easily emerge in an interview situation. This is because, as noted earlier, an interview is a social encounter, and bias is a common feature in this context. Sources of bias include expectations of the interviewer, the tendency for the interviewer to see the interviewee in her own image, a tendency to seek answers that fit the preconceived ideas, and others (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2000). The researcher understands these possibilities and tries to avoid such incidents from happening.

However, the researcher has to admit that to observe complete objectivity is indeed difficult. First, the researcher is a member of the university. She has her own opinions on certain issues and sometimes it is difficult to detach these feelings from the interpretation of the responses. In other words, it is not easy to maintain “naïve ignorance” when interviewing the informants (Spradley, 1979, p. 29).

Second, the researcher has different relationships with the interviewees. Some are close colleagues of the researcher, others are less acquainted subjects. The nature of interactions between the researcher and the interviewee thus varied.

In order to minimise the problem of objectivity, the researcher used respondent validation and triangulation. As noted in the section about transcribing, the informants were asked to verify what they mentioned by checking the accuracy of the transcripts, which were based on the tape recording. Most informants did make corrections on the scripts.



Triangulation was done by comparing the literature to the findings. The researcher agrees to Strauss and Corbin's (1998, p. 51-52) view that "the literature can be used to confirm findings and, just the reverse, findings can be used to illustrate where the literature is incorrect, is overly simplistic, or only partially explains phenomena."

### **5.7.2 Dependability**

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 278) note: "The underlying issue here is whether the process of the study is consistent, reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods." Since this research was carried out by a single researcher, it is difficult to tell whether another fieldworker will yield the same results. But findings of this research do show meaningful parallelism across informants.

### **5.7.3 Credibility**

The credibility or authenticity of this research will be affected by two main elements. One is whether the researcher has modified the findings in order to fit her own ideas of the situation. The other is whether the informants told the truth or whether they performed in a particular way, which they wanted the researcher to see.

The researcher did her best in being objective and credible when processing the data in order to present the complete portrait to the readers. When negative evidence was sought, the researcher would investigate further to seek for credible explanation.

As for the credibility of the informants, since purposive sampling, which will be discussed later in this chapter, was used, the researcher trusted the authenticity of the responses of the informants. Otherwise, the researcher would not choose them at the beginning of the research.

#### **5.7.4 Transferability**

It is difficult to say whether the conclusions of this research are transferable to other contexts. Schofield (1990, cited in Miles and Huberman, *ibid.*, p. 279) distinguishes generalizing to “what is” to “what may be” and to “what could be”. This present research is valuable in providing insights to “what may be” cases, i.e. sites in the forefront of similar process, and “what could be” cases, i.e. outstanding or ideal cases. The researcher hopes that more regions that underwent similar process can be compared in the future to see how much the theory is transferable.

#### **5.7.5 Application**

The findings of this research will be accessible to potential users after it has been completed. Although this project is not a piece of action research, the conclusion chapter does offer several suggestions to future readers, which may lead to specific actions.

### **5.8 Ethics**

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p.45) argue that: “The teacher-researcher, like all other social researchers, is a moral agent with views, opinions, values, and attitudes.” When a research is done in school, it will be faced with ethical dilemmas. The major problem is what effects the research will create on the subjects. The researcher has the responsibility to protect the subjects from being hurt by the research.

The following measures have been taken during the interviews to guarantee informed consent to the interviewees:

- The explanation of the purposes of the research to the interviewees.
- The explanation of the procedures of the research to the interviewees.
- The questions have been submitted to the interviewees before the interviews.
- The explanation of how the data will be managed.

- An explanation that the interviewee can withdraw at any time of the research.
- A promise that the transcript will be submitted to the interviewee for his comments or corrections.

Besides giving informed consent, the interviewer has also promised the interviewees that their identities would be kept confidential. Instead of writing their names in the thesis, a number will be assigned to each interviewee. However, since there are only seven interviewees and that many of their responses are closely related to particular contexts, it is not possible to guarantee that readers cannot identify or can have a close guess of their true identities. The researcher tries her best to give up the use of materials that may make the connections known to the public.

## 5.9 Sampling

As noted earlier, the thesis uses a hermeneutics approach. It does not aim at generating any forms of statistics, which are usually used to try to establish causal relationships in a positivist approach. Therefore the sample size is relatively small. Seven people have been selected as interviewees. Purpose sampling has been used. The interviewees were handpicked by the researcher on the basis of her judgment of their typicality and their presumed knowledge. These seven interviewees were chosen according to the following criteria:

- Their expected participation in the researched phenomenon.
- Their time of participation.
- Their positions at the university.
- Their expected viewpoints.

The researcher understands that the interviewees only represent themselves and their responses do not represent the wider population. The “concern is with representativeness of concepts and how concepts vary dimensionally” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 214).

## 5.10 Summary

This chapter has addressed the following issues:

- The three approaches of research.
- The nature of comparative education and its significance.
- The style of this research and its comparative dimension.
- The method of data collection and data analysis.
- Important issues for consideration during data collection and data analysis for this research.

Having gone through these areas, in the next chapter, the findings from the data analysis will be presented.

## **Chapter 6: Analysis of Data – Effects of Colonisation on Higher Education of Macau**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter as well as the following chapter, the analysis of data will be presented. This chapter will analyse the effects of colonisation on higher education and chapter 7 will analyse the effects of decolonisation, neo-colonisation and recolonisation on higher education in Macau.

As stated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this thesis is to analyse the effects of political changes on higher education through the eyes of the actors who participated in the process. It will focus on the development of the University of Macau (UM) in two decades during which the territory changed from a Portuguese colony into a special administrative region of China. It will look at the adjustments that the university made during different political situations and will attempt to interpret the rationales behind these changes. It will also study what the university should do in order to maintain its competitive advantage when compared with universities in neighbouring regions, such as Hong Kong and Guangdong. There are many countries and regions, which have undergone political changes. Chapter 4 illustrated that their responses show similarities and diversities. The study of Macau, thus, can contribute to a broader understanding of the effects of historical and contemporary colonialism when contrasted with other regions.

### **6.2 Review of Effects of Colonisation on Schooling and Higher Education**

As noted in chapter 4, colonisers often used schooling as a tool to shape colonised people into roles, which mostly benefited the authority. In regions where traditional educational systems existed, the colonisers would consider whether these systems contradicted their values. If yes, they might entirely eliminate these conventional systems, sometimes even in hostile manner. If not, the colonisers might integrate the traditional systems with the imported systems, producing a hybrid model.

It was also common for colonisers to play an inactive role towards the provision of education to the local people. Mass education was not at the top priority of the authority's agenda. Until there was really an urgent demand, often economically or politically driven, education for the local people was not something that the colonisers would spend much resources on.

As for higher education, colonisers used it to achieve two main purposes. First, it provided high-level manpower for the colonial governments. It was a strategy of using local people to govern local people. Second, higher education was a means to convey the values, and knowledge, of the colonisers. In most regions, colonial higher education was only provided to the local elite.

The development of the UM can be divided into three stages. From 1981 to 1988, it was a private university founded by three Hong Kong businessmen and it was called the University of East Asia (UEA). In 1988, major parts of UEA were purchased by the Macau Foundation and it became a public university. The colonial government began to involve in the development of higher education. In 1991, the name of the university was changed to the University of Macau (UM). In 1999, the sovereignty of Macau was returned to China, therefore, the university experienced another change.

Based on the literature review, the following questions were put to seven informants in order to find out how they interpreted the effects of colonisation on the development of higher education in Macau. Informants #1 and #2 are current academic staff, who also participate in some administrative work when the research is being conducted. Informants #3 and #7 are current high-level administrative staff. Informants #4, #5 and #6 were former high-level administrative staff, who have left the institution.

- What were the chief forces that shaped higher education during the colonial period?
- As a private university, what were the goals of the University of East Asia?
- As a private university, what was the relationship between UEA and the government?

- Why did the government develop higher education in the last decade of the colonial period?
- How were the new purposes of the university reflected?
- Was there any change in the structure of the university?
- What about curriculum development?
- What about the language of instruction?
- What about the recruitment of staff?
- What about the admission of students?
- What was the relationship between the university and the Portuguese academic community after the purchase?
- What was the relationship between the university and the Chinese academic community after the purchase?
- Was there any change in the degree of academic autonomy after the change of ownership?
- How did the local people react to the change of ownership?
- What was the degree of localisation of knowledge before and after the change of ownership?

## **6.3 Findings**

### **6.3.1 What were the chief forces that shaped higher education during the colonial period?**

According to the informants, during the colonial period, higher education development was shaped by administrative policies, the development of secondary schools, the unavailability of local resources and the existence of opportunities in other regions.

Regarding administrative policies, Bray and Packer (1993) note that Macau's governor was appointed by the Portuguese government and he brought his own group of senior administrators to the territory. During the period from 1982 to 1992, Macau had six governors. Due to the short term of office, it would be difficult for them to

develop long-term plans for the territory. In addition, since the governors would bring his own group of administrators, they would not need to train local people for higher-level administrative posts.

Resonating with this view, informant #1 mentions:

Everybody knew that higher education was absent in Macau before the 1980s ... This was closely related to the governmental approach of the Portuguese ... They did not intend to develop a group of people who have received higher education to serve the society or their government. During their 400 years of governance, I think that they did not use local people, Chinese or non-Chinese, to administer the region. We saw that most key officials were assigned from Portugal. Basically, they might feel that they did not need a local higher education institution to provide this type of personnel for the government.

In this quotation, informant #1 relates higher education to the provision of civil servants. It was noted in chapter 4 that the provision of high-level manpower for the government was one of the purposes of higher education. For instance, higher education was provided in Taiwan to support Japanese policies of colonisation and expansion (Kumnuch, 1996).

However, in Macau, since the government did not expect local people to be high-level civil servants, correspondingly higher education was absent. In other words, Macau breaks the pattern of other colonies. This policy was eventually changed in the late 1980s. This phenomenon will be discussed later in this chapter.

Informant #1 also suggests that the government did not want local people to participate due to fear of intervention. He mentions:

If some locally trained people were allowed to join the administrative structure, I think the government might be afraid that they would affect the ideology and administrative pattern of the Portuguese officials.

The government anticipated that if local people were allowed into the administrative system, the original ideology of the government would be affected. Therefore, in order to keep the administration style more Portuguese than local, the



government did not attract local people to be civil servants. Similarly, Bray (2001) notes that the Portuguese were not supportive of localisation.

The attitude of the Portuguese administration could be reflected in their language policy. Informant #1 argues:

The Portuguese language has not been promoted throughout hundreds of years. They (the Portuguese) thought that if many people understood Portuguese, the uniqueness of the language would be lost. The uniqueness of the roles of the Portuguese or Macanese people in the administrative structure would also be lost. They (the Portuguese) used this method to govern. This has caused the promotion of Portuguese to be weak.

This opinion shows that the Portuguese government wanted to maintain the exclusiveness of the Portuguese language. Knowledge of Portuguese was a 'must-have' in joining the civil service, and it was not extensively granted to the local people. Informant #1 contrasts the language policy of Macau to that of Hong Kong. He observes that the British government has used a different approach.

It (the British government) promoted English so that many people understood English. But understanding English didn't mean you could join the administrative structure. It also developed elite in higher education institution... This approach has attracted a group of people to work in the governmental structure. The advantage was to use Chinese people to govern Chinese people. It (the British government) used this method to govern Hong Kong. But the Portuguese administrative style was different. It was observed that it (the Portuguese government) did not use higher education to train local people to administer the region.

The British government promoted English at two levels. At the lower level, English was promoted widely to the general public. At the higher level, higher education was developed in Hong Kong in order to develop local people to govern local people, and English was used as the medium of instruction in most tertiary institutions. The knowledge of English was a critical factor in joining the civil service.

On the contrary, the Portuguese did not use local people to administer the city. They imported administrators from Portugal and Portuguese was intentionally maintained as an exclusive language.

Informant #2 has a more neutral feeling towards the governmental policy. He mentions that the colonial government practised a high degree of non-intervention towards schooling as well as higher education.

The environment of Macau's higher education is very simple because the government practised a high degree of non-intervention. Since higher education depends a lot on high school education... therefore if we want to understand the trend of higher education, we have to observe the trends of secondary schools. In Macau, the government practised a high degree of non-intervention policy ... The government called this a 'school-oriented' approach. Schools had the right to determine their own curricula and directions.

Informant #2 notes that the government neither initiated nor obstructed the development of higher education. It generally took a *laissez faire* approach towards education. To a large extent, schools were allowed to run their own programs and the development of higher education was related to that of the schooling sector.

Besides administrative reason, the development of higher education was also affected by the size of the local economy and the sufficiency of financial support. Informant #1 suggests that the local economy was small and it was not easy for private sponsors to establish a university. He mentions: "The scale of economy of Macau was small. It was not easy for people to establish a university."

Last, but not the least, the availability of choices in other regions has affected the development of higher education. Informant #3 notes:

When I was studying in the 1980s, most secondary school graduates would go to mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, to further their studies. Based on my impression as a secondary school graduate, the government did not develop higher education during that period.

Similarly, informant #1 remarks:

If Macau people wanted to get higher education, there were many choices in other regions. I think this was another reason that affected the consideration of those who wanted to invest in higher education... If no one enrolled in the university, how could it operate?

These quotations show that the development of a university was strongly related to the abundance of students. This was a matter of demand and supply. If potential investors foresaw there would not be enough students, their interest would be discouraged.

From these responses, it was shown that higher education had not developed in Macau during most of the colonial period because of administrative policy, the lacking of a strong financial support from the society, and the availability of studying opportunities in other countries or regions.

In section 4.4, it was argued that higher education serves several purposes:

- To provide tertiary education to the children of the colonisers.
- To respond to the urgent demands, such as health care needs, of the society.
- To provide a means of upward mobility to the local people.
- To provide high-level manpower to work for the government.
- To spread knowledge and ideas of the colonisers.

In Macau, all these rationales were either absent locally or have been fulfilled by external sources before the 1980s. The context of Macau was different from other regions in the following aspects.

First, the administrative policy adopted by the Portuguese was an anti-local approach. This was different from the “local people govern local people” approach used by the British. All the middle to top positions in the government were filled by officials from Portugal. The junior positions were mostly taken by Macanese who went to local Portuguese schools and could attain a reasonable level of Portuguese. Few resources have been invested in training local people for higher positions of the government. Altbach (1998, p. 34) argues: “The Dutch and the Portuguese paid less attention to education in their colonies, and were mostly opposed to the establishment of universities.”

Second, the size of Macau mattered. Comparatively Macau was much smaller in physical size and population than most colonies in Asia. Its size did not provide the economy of scale needed to establish a university. The responsibility to train high-level manpower was, therefore, fulfilled by overseas universities. This was not a particularly special phenomenon. Brock and Smawfield (1988) argue that the smallness of a territory will prevent the operation of a complete education system. Some specialisms or sectors can be ruled out. However, this arrangement would create problems, such as brain drain and the irrelevance of the curriculum (Bray, 1992a).

Third, although Macau was small, it lied in a convenient geographical location. It did not exhibit the problems of isolation that affected many small states (Brock and Smawfield, 1988). Students could easily get access to many neighbouring regions to further their studies.

All these conditions combined to create a special context where local higher education was not perceived as a particularly necessary project for the society before the 1980s.

### **6.3.2 As a private university, what were the goals of the University of East Asia?**

The Charter of UEA was enacted in 1981. The academic objectives of the University College included the following two phrases (Mellor, 1988. p. 122):

- i. to help students, whatever their background, to develop the power to think clearly, to learn intelligently, and to communicate fluently;
- ii. to enable them to acquire and develop skills commensurate with their career objectives in a changing society to which they can contribute both through knowledge and responsibility...

These phrases show that the university did not aim at serving only the local community but welcomed students from various backgrounds. Nothing was mentioned about the changing of sovereignty or the preparation of the transition

period. The objectives focused on providing education to more students and had few political considerations.

All informants agreed that UEA catered mainly for Hong Kong students. Informant #1 notes that the size of Macau was limited to support the university, therefore, it needed to enrol a high percentage of non-local students.

The founders understood that the economy and population size of Macau was not big enough to support a fair-sized university ... I also believe that the government understood this point. Therefore, it allowed the university to enrol a high proportion of non-local students.

A similar point was made by informant #4. He mentions that one of the objectives of UEA was profit-making.

The objectives of UEA were very clear. It catered mainly for Hong Kong students. Second, it was a profit-making university. There were about 70% to 80% Hong Kong students, plus some students from Macau and mainland China. Its objective was to provide an alternative channel for furthering studies for Hong Kong students.

Altbach (1998) argues that higher education in colonies was generally intended to produce loyal civil servants able to operate a bureaucracy. But since higher education was not provided by the government in this case, it had other objectives. According to the informants, UEA aimed at profit making. Seeing that Macau was a small economy, the founders decided to enrol a high percentage of Hong Kong students. And as noted by informant #4, UEA provided an alternative to Hong Kong students, who otherwise might not have the opportunity to receive higher education in Hong Kong.

Due to this background, the structure of UEA complied with that of Hong Kong secondary schools rather than local secondary schools. In addition, the founders were also smart enough to see the demands from the society where there were many working adults who wanted to earn degrees. Informant #3 suggests:

Its three-year structure did not comply with the local secondary system. It mainly catered for Hong Kong students... It also established the

Open College and the Graduate College, which provided bachelor and master degree programs for adult students from Macau and Hong Kong.

Altbach (ibid.) notes that colonial higher education was patterned after metropolitan models. Examples of this argument include the University of Hong Kong and the University of Singapore, which worked mainly according to the British structure. However, UEA was a private university that did not relate much to the local nor the Portuguese education pattern. It was a British-style university operating in a Portuguese territory. It was profit making and it fulfilled the demands from Hong Kong students as well as those from other Asian countries.

As noted in question 1, the colonial government was not enthusiastic in developing higher education before the 1980s. But it allowed foreign investors to establish a private university because the latter created an opportunity for local students to further their studies. Informant #5 notes:

The government was trying to create another opportunity for local students to further their studies particularly those who were not wealthy. They didn't get a chance to go overseas to further their studies. So they stayed in Macau, paid whatever they could afford, and the government could provide loans and scholarships.

In summary, UEA was a counter-example to the general pattern of colonial university. As noted in chapter 4, colonial universities were important tools for colonial government to implement their policies. Nevertheless, UEA was not such a university because it had little connection with the government. In fact, it was an early example of marketisation of education. It created diversified programs to meet the demands of its customers. Informant #3 argues:

It considered the needs of different people. For example, it developed the Junior College and the Associate Degree Program. There were also adult education and bachelor degree courses... It was very diversified. It developed courses according to the needs of the society.

Despite the fact that the government did not fully invest in the development of higher education, it supported local students through the provision of loans and grants. It did not obstruct the operation of the private university seeing that it was a constructive project to the local society.

### **6.3.3 As a private university, what was the relationship between UEA and the government?**

In general, the relationship between the colonial government and the university was positive at the beginning. Although the government understood that the university would not cater primarily for local students, it granted a piece of land for its establishment and provided reasonable support. Informant #4 argues:

UEA was academically independent and the government welcomed its operation. It granted a piece of land to it ... The Macau government gave lots of moral support to UEA.

Informant #5 also suggests that the government was positive to the project. It provided grants and loans to students for entering the university. The government perceived the university as another opportunity for local students to continue their studies.

At that time the government wanted to do something for the education of Macau because only students graduating from Portuguese schools had the opportunity and the support from the government to go to Portugal to further their studies. Other students from private schools, if they had the money, they could further their studies abroad... The government gave sponsorship through the Education Department for students to go into UEA, in terms of loans and scholarships... The government was very supportive. It gave land, it gave the permission and tried everything to let this project go ahead.

These opinions showed that the relationship between the government and the university was 'balanced' at the beginning. Both parties could get what they wanted through mutual acceptance. However, in later stages, conflicts gradually emerged.



Informant #1 suggests that the founders have taken too many resources from the government and the gap between the two parties widened. When the political situation was changed, the government found it more appropriate to purchase the university.

At the beginning years, it was difficult... Both local and foreign students were not plentiful... They (the founders) considered whether the government could give any assistance... They knew that governmental operation would be bureaucratic... They wanted to avoid the interference of the government, but they also knew it was impossible. So they allowed a government representative to be assigned at the university... Through this delegate, the government could participate a little bit in the university but not involving any decision making... This pattern was feasible, but later the operation was not satisfactory... The founders wanted to get more resources from the government without losing their own autonomy. This situation made the government felt that it was being abused... Eventually it became an all-or-nothing situation... Around 1988, 1989, after some negotiation, the university was sold.

Similarly informant #5 suggests that the market did not respond to the university as expected by the founders.

I understand that at one time the market did not provide sufficient students as they expected because there were some problems that they did not anticipate. The adherence of Hong Kong people to this project in Macau was not that enthusiastic. That was why the number of students was not that high...

The development of some programs also created even bigger incompatibility between the two parties. Informant #5 argues:

And later on when they started some programs ... they would try to push ahead some academic programs that were not compatible with the framework of education following the Portuguese universities pattern. That was very difficult for the local government to approve: for example, the Associate Degree or the Higher Diploma. They were mixing programs from U.K., Australia, United States and trying to come out with a product so that students could reduce the number of



years to get the degrees... it was a mix up that sometimes the government did not understand.

In the later stages, the needs of both parties could not be met. The founders did not want UEA to be intervened by the government but they also realised that it was difficult to survive without any support especially when the revenues were not as optimistic as expected. On the other hand, the government has been supportive to the university perceiving that it was an opportunity for local students. But due to the nature of some programs, the government found it difficult to provide more assistance. So later when the political outlook was changed, the government decided to purchase some parts of the university from the founders.

When UEA was contrasted with Nanyang University of Singapore (Gopinathan, 1989), many similarities were found. Both were private universities, which were not sponsored by the colonial authority. Both faced similar financial problems because they relied heavily on private donors and eventually both institutions were integrated into the governmental structure. Both had to compete with other universities either locally or in nearby regions.

But there were also differences. Nanyang University had strong political tension with the government. The tension between UEA and the government were mainly financial and structural. The two cases exemplified that unless there was strong financial support, private universities were impossible to survive if they wanted to be detached from government intervention.

When compared with the generalisations, the development and the change of ownership of UEA was special because, as noted earlier, colonial higher education was commonly provided by the colonisers for the development of civil servants. At the beginning of the 1980s, the Macau government used UEA as a means to train human resources without having to invest a lot of resources. But later, this was not possible since the objectives of the private founders were distant from that of the government. Instead of setting up a new university to fulfil its purposes, the government purchased the university and changed it to a public institution. This formation of the public university was different from the cases that were noted in

chapter 4. This approach was chosen because of the availability of resources as suggested by informant #5.

There were several possibilities. One was the government set up a new university from scratch. Then it had to evaluate the costs of infrastructure and then the market was not that sizable to devise a second university. Alternately, the government could use existing facilities.

#### **6.3.4 Why did the government develop higher education in the last decade of the colonial era?**

The major reason was to prepare for the political change in 1999. The government had to solve three critical issues during the transition period. They were the localisation of laws, the localisation of the civil service, and the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages. The government also wanted to preserve Portuguese culture in the territory. In addition, the number of secondary school graduates has increased and they needed places to further their education. Informant #3 mentions:

The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration states very clearly that Macau needs its own university to develop local people to cater for the hand-over. A large-scale localisation is necessary. Therefore, during that time, courses such as education, law, engineering, public administration, translation were developed.

Informant #4 has similar views:

The Sino-Portuguese Declaration was enacted in January 1988 and Macau entered the transitional period... The Macau government has to solve three major tasks during the transitional period. One was to recognise the official status of the Chinese language, the other was the localisation of laws, and the last one was the localisation of the civil service. In order to solve these three problems, a large amount of human resources was needed. A university was needed to supply these people. The transitional period spanned more than ten years, therefore, the government decided to purchase UEA.

The objective of the university, therefore, changed from serving mainly Hong Kong students to catering for the local community. The university began to perform one of the most important functions of colonial university as argued in chapter 4, i.e. developing civil servants and other necessary professionals for the society.

However, it did so not only for the colonial government but also for the new administration. This is different from the general pattern found in other colonies where higher education mainly worked for the colonial government. Informant #5 mentions:

The primary goal was not to serve Hong Kong students, but to serve Macau students, particularly to train qualified personnel for Macau taking into consideration the issue of 1999. That's why some programs were created in the university particularly for the SAR...

Higher education was also a means to maintain the Portuguese influence in Macau. Bray (1997) notes that the transition of Macau was achieved by negotiation rather than by force, and it took place over a long period of time. This timetable has enabled the colonial government to take a more active role in preparing the society for the change. And one thing that the government would do was to use the university to strengthen the Portuguese influence (Hui, 1998). Informant #1 notes:

The key theme was to develop human resources for the transitional period. It was also hoped that Portuguese culture could be maintained through Macau's higher education.

Informant #4 argues that although the Portuguese government wanted to implement some policies to maintain the Portuguese culture, it faced strong opposition during the process. In the end, many of these policies were eroded.

Around 1991 and 1992, the government proposed to make Portuguese language a mandatory course at primary and secondary schools. But there was strong opposition. After much debate, it was no longer a compulsory requirement. In addition, the government wanted to impose the same policy in the university... In the end, it was a compulsory course in the Faculty of Education only. In the other faculties, it was an elective course.

Although most informants perceived that one of the objectives for the government to buy the university was to preserve the Portuguese culture, one informant strongly disagreed with this view and considered this a conspiracy of the Chinese. Informant #5 remarks:

If the Portuguese culture is maintained, it's because it's part of Macau. It's not the specific intention of the government. This reminds me of a theory of conspiracy of the Chinese that the Portuguese wanted to leave a heritage of their culture. But we have to realise that this is part of Macau's identity... The Portuguese government was not trying to pose anything new or develop something against the Chinese... There could be co-existence of the two cultures.

Informant #5 sees that the Portuguese influence in Macau was something natural and it could not be intentionally designed. He argues that the people of Macau should be very cautious that if the Portuguese influence was lost, the identity of Macau would also be gone. In other words, the preservation of the Portuguese culture should be a local concern rather than something manipulated by the Portuguese.

After the transfer of ownership, the university began to perform the five objectives of colonial higher education, discussed in question 1. In other words, UEA started to perform like a typical colonial university when its ownership was transferred from private founders to the government.

### **6.3.5 How were the new purposes of the university reflected?**

The responses to this question fell on two sides. Informant #1 argues that he could not see any specific policies for achieving the objectives of the government. The other informants noted that there were significant changes in areas like structure, enrolment, and the development of new faculties. Their responses will be discussed in the following sections.

Informant #1 remarks:

According to my own perspective, I cannot recognise any plans that the government has imposed on the University of Macau or the higher education of Macau... The major direction was to nurture human resources for the change of sovereignty. In addition, it was anticipated that Portuguese culture and influences could be maintained through higher education. But I cannot see any practical approaches.

It was interesting that informant #1 did not feel that the university was trying to implement changes despite the fact that lots of modifications were made after the ownership transfer. It was speculated that informant #1 was expecting detailed long-term blueprint from the government but felt that this had not been done. The other changes might seem relatively less significant when compared with an overall direction of higher education development.

#### **6.3.6 Was there any change in the structure of the university?**

After the change of ownership, the structure of the university changed remarkably. The three-year bachelor degree programs were changed to four-year; colleges were re-structured into faculties; and the administrative structure was modelled according to that of the government.

Informant #4 notes that the government has done a lot after the purchase. For instance, faculties were set up to satisfy the needs of the society and profit was no longer the chief goal of the university.

First, the structure changed from 3-year to 4-year. This is absolutely correct. Second, the colleges of UEA were changed to faculties... The Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Science and Technology, and the Faculty of Law were all established during that period... Many new programs were also established. There were translation program and public administration program. The government also established the Macau Security Force Superior School... In addition, there were some non-profit-making graduate programs... We had MBA program and public administration program. We also started Ph.D. programs.

The establishment of new faculties reflected the objective of providing more qualified personnel in various areas for the government and society both before and after the political transition.

While new programs were added, old courses, which deemed unsuitable by the authority were eliminated. Informant #5 argues:

One of the first establishments was to change the programs into four-year degree programs... It was in 1990 we had to implement entrance examination for the four-year curriculum... And also to wind up the Associate Degree programs. We were trying to establish a regular university, not a university with diversified programs.

The changing of the three-year system into a four-system fully reflected that the university was no longer a copy of the British model. The system was now compatible with the metropolitan model as well as the Chinese model. This is one of the characteristics of colonial universities (Altbach, 1989). Informant #6 mentions:

There was a big change in the system. Originally it used a British three-year system... After the purchase, it became a four-year system. This system is more popular around the world. Portugal, China, Taiwan, and the United States all use this system. The British system is not very popular.

In summary, after the purchase, the government trimmed the university into the metropolitan pattern and programs, such as the Associate Degree program, were lifted. In addition, this model was also compatible with most local secondary schools, which used a 3+3 model. In other words, the change in structure was a move closer to the metropolitan pattern as well as the local context.

### **6.3.7 What about curriculum development?**

Three new faculties were established after the change. They were the Faculty of Science and Technology, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Education. There were also new courses in translation and public administration. The purpose of development of these faculties and courses was to nurture human resources for

Macau, especially those who were urgently needed during the transitional period. Informant #6 mentions:

Compared to UEA, University of Macau has added several new faculties. UEA was operated by a group of Hong Kong people. They did not consider the society of Macau. They didn't have this responsibility. The colonial government had to consider the local context. The Faculty of Law was established. Its courses were taught entirely in Portuguese. It responded directly to the local legal environment. Then there was the Faculty of Science and Technology... We needed human resources in civil engineering and electrical engineering. The government, therefore, made its investments... The Faculty of Education was originally the School of Education. The scale was very small. Later, it was advanced into a faculty. These were big changes.

Informant #6 points out that it was the responsibility of the government to consider the needs of the society. This change or addition in curriculum resonated with some colonies where the curriculum was re-oriented to the scientific and vocational direction when they gained independence. For example, Basu (1989) argues that the British intentionally de-emphasised scientific education and local people were trained to be office clerks in India. After independence, the direction of higher education had to be shifted to respond to the need of the local community.

### **6.3.8 What about the language of instruction?**

Altbach (1989, p.8) notes that:

Colonial authorities in all cases used the language of the mother country for higher education. While in some cases, primary and on occasion secondary education utilized local languages, the universities always functioned in the metropolitan language.

For example, during Japanese colonial rule, the Keijo Imperial University in Seoul (Lee, 1989) and the Taihoku Imperial University in Taipei (Wu, Chen and Wu, 1989) both used Japanese as the medium of instruction.

However, in Macau, the university continued to use English as the chief medium of instruction after the purchase. Informant #7 argues there were two main reasons - one was the internationalisation of the university and the other was the practicality of changing the language.

They wanted this to be an international university and it was very difficult to change the language unless we started everything from the beginning... For new programs, we could choose the language. For example, Chinese is used in the Faculty of Education and Portuguese is used in the Faculty of Law.

Similarly, informant #6 notes that although Chinese and Portuguese were the official languages, English was the working language within the university.

There were two official languages, Chinese and Portuguese. But the working language was still English. Our notices and report cards were written in English. But for official documents we had to use Portuguese... Most faculties used English for teaching except Faculty of Law... Faculty of Education mainly used Chinese.

Informant #5 mentions that the government required students to learn one of the official languages.

There was one thing that the government asked the university to do. It was to teach one of the official languages as a mandatory subject. If you studied Chinese (in your secondary school), then you should study Portuguese (in the university). If you studied Portuguese (in your secondary school), then you should study Chinese (in the university). If you studied English in the secondary school, you had the option, Portuguese or Chinese. The government wanted university students to have a good knowledge of one of the official languages, not both.

Macau's situation was different from other colonies because three different languages were used accordingly and the mostly widely used working language in the university was not one of the official languages. This was because the university was an international environment where there were expatriate teachers and foreign students. In order to have a closer relationship with the global academic arena, the



university maintained English as the chief language. This point echoed with Johnson's view that English demonstrated its usefulness as a medium for advanced learning and for international communication (Bray and Lee, 2001).

### **6.3.9 What about the recruitment of staff?**

After the purchase, the administrative structure of the university needed to comply with the government requirements. On the one hand, procedures became more systematic and transparent. Informant #7 notes:

Since 1991 the conditions of employment have been improved. It follows the salary structure of the government. Before you had to negotiate your own salary... and the salary structure was not transparent.

On the other hand, procedural flexibility decreased. Informant #3 argues:

Before, UEA was a private organisation. The salary level could be very diverse. For example, you and I were both clerks but we could have different salaries. The year-end bonus could also be different... But now, it has to comply with the government. We have to follow the salary structure of the government... People become less motivated.

Altbach (1989) argues that most high-level academic staff would come from the metropole. After the purchase, the university did have an increased number of teachers from Portugal. But at the same time, there were also more teachers from China. In addition, the law of higher education also acknowledged the status of Chinese professors even though many of them did not have PhDs. This might be perceived as an early sign of decolonisation. Informant #6 remarks:

Concerning teachers, there was an increase in Portuguese teachers. There were many deans who were Portuguese. And there were teachers from mainland. There were few Chinese professors during the UEA period... The law of higher education stated clearly the requirements needed to open a new program, for example, the number of professors needed. It also specified that professors from China needed not have

PhD. Because during a certain period of time China did not have the PhD system. The level of Chinese professors was high, but they didn't have PhDs... Hong Kong seldom employed Chinese professors because they saw that you didn't have PhD and would only appoint you as lecturer. The British was discriminating against Chinese professors... But the Macau government treated Chinese professors fairly.

This was a special arrangement, which was not noted in other colonies. The colonial government was supportive to professors coming from China before the political change and it took into consideration the differences in the systems. Although the number of Portuguese teachers has increased, there was no privilege given to them or to local scholars. But there was an intention to attract more local people to be teaching assistants. These people would then be further developed into higher-level academic staff. Informant #7 notes:

For academic reasons, the Faculty of Law had to employ Portuguese scholars because the position required the candidate to have a law degree and a good knowledge of Portuguese... We couldn't find such people in Macau... There was no significant change in the number of local teachers, except for teaching assistants. During that time, there was a policy to attract more local people to join the teaching force. So the position of teaching assistant was a route to train local teachers.

Similarly, informant #5 argues:

The university wanted to create a structure of teaching assistants, encouraged them to get the master degrees, and tried to convince them to pursue the academic career.

The policy to recruit teaching assistants was related to the belief that local teachers would be more committed to the university than expatriates. Informant #5 also makes the following remark:

Foreign staff was not identified with Macau. They did not dedicate their attention to local problems. Only when the staff settled down they thought about Macau.

The most noticeable change in staff recruitment was the increased number of Portuguese and Chinese teachers. This pattern matched that of the generalised model. In addition, there was also an expansion in the number of teaching assistants. This point also corresponded to the objective of developing local human resources.

#### **6.3.10 What about the admission of students?**

Another significant change was the reduction of tuition fees for local students. Due to this policy, the number of local students increased dramatically. Informant #6 mentions:

During the 80s, more than 80% of the students were Hong Kong residents. Macau students were less than 20%. After the purchase, there was a big change. The university mainly considered the needs of the local society. It adopted a policy to deduct the tuition fees for local students... This caused the proportion of Macau students to increase significantly.

This policy also reflected the objective of the government to develop more local qualified personnel for the society. Unlike typical colonial universities which mostly enrolled local elite and children of the colonisers, the university reduced the tuition fees to attract more local students and they were to be trained not only to serve for the colonial society, but also for the new political era after 1999.

#### **6.3.11 What was the relationship between the university and the Portuguese academic community after the purchase?**

The connection between the university and Europe, particularly Portugal, became closer and more formal. Informant #2 mentions:

After the change, its connection with European countries became stronger. It joined some European universities associations. Before the change, I believe its connection with other universities was informal ... But after the change, it established more formal relations.

Similarly, informant #6 argues:

In the university there were many professors who came from Portugal... From this perspective, there were more interflows... In Portugal, there was the Council of Rectors of Universities of Portugal, CRUP. There were 15 universities in Portugal and their rectors were members of CRUP. There was one member, which was not in Portugal. That was the University of Macau... At that time the qualifications of UM were recognised by the Ministry of Education of Portugal.

Meanwhile, the relationship between the university and English-speaking countries became weaker. Informant #4 notes:

Concerning curriculum development, the connection with English-speaking countries was becoming less significant. There were interflows and signing of agreements, but not much in specific activities. Instead, there were practical co-operation with Portugal and China. We employed twenty-five associate professors and professors from China.

After the purchase, the university developed closer relationship with the metropole. Portugal considered UM as one of the Portuguese universities, and integrated it into their system. Most degrees offered by UM were recognised by the metropole. This resonated with the general pattern of colonial universities. On the other hand, students gained advantage from this change because their development would not be limited to Macau. Informant #5 notes:

And these recognition gave us access to the European Union because once the courses or programs were recognised in Portugal, they were automatically recognized in the whole European Union.

The university became integrated into the Portuguese academic community, and on a wider scale, the European network, after the change of ownership. To a certain extent, it depended on the support from Portuguese universities for its academic development. This was a centre-periphery relationship between Macau and Portugal, which was a common pattern that existed between metropolises and colonies (Altbach, 1998).

### **6.3.12 What was the relationship between the university and the Chinese academic community after the purchase?**

The relationship between the university and the Chinese academic community also improved. Informant #6 mentions:

There were many visits, which were headed by rectors, vice rectors or deans, to the mainland... We have been to Beijing and Shanghai... There were many academic co-operations with Qinghua University... Many professors were recruited from China.

Closer relationship was also developed at the student level. Informant #4 notes:

We recruited Chinese students. Every year we would organise Chinese students to celebrate the “Youth Festival”. Representatives from Xinhua News Agency would join our activities... This fitted the interest of the university. The Chinese government also agreed to this. (Despite these activities), there was no other influence.

The relationship between the university and China became stronger in various areas. This phenomenon was special in two dimensions. First, the relationship was developed before the change of sovereignty. It could be perceived as a sign of early de-colonisation. Second, besides Portugal, China also developed a centre-periphery relationship with Macau. There were two centres, Portugal and China, that provided academic support to the university.

### **6.3.13 Was there any change in the degree of academic autonomy after the change of ownership?**

Most informants agreed that the university continued to enjoy high degree of academic autonomy after the change of ownership. But they gave different reasons for this phenomenon.

Informant #1 says that first there was a lack of guidance from the authority. Second, there might be a certain degree of self-censorship exercised by the staff. And third, the academic atmosphere within the university was weak. Therefore, academic autonomy was not perceived as an important issue. In general, there was no significant change to the degree of academic autonomy.

The colonial government did not provide any guidelines for the academic pursuit of the university... But informally some scholars might be more cautious if they had to do some research works, which related to Portugal or the government... In general, the intervention was not serious. Personally I think the university did not have a strong academic force before and after the change of ownership... Therefore, it was not necessary to consider academic autonomy.

Informant #3 suggests that there was no intervention because there was a lack of political atmosphere in the university. He argues the atmosphere of the general society has affected the atmosphere in the academic arena.

We saw that the mass media of Hong Kong criticised its government severely... The general atmosphere (of Macau) was not as confrontational as that of Hong Kong. This atmosphere might have affected the direction of research.

Informant #5 argues that the university did not lose its academic autonomy. The government only controlled the administration and wanted to see that the financial resources were distributed to the right places.

The government had a close control on the administration, particularly the government felt that if they were spending hundred of millions in the university, they had to be assured that the money was well spent... But when you said administration, it's academic administration. For example, the government said you could not spend money on that program. The academics felt that the government was controlling their academic freedom... That was the type of indirect control in the academic activities of the university.

Informant #6 notes that in general the government granted autonomy to the university except when curriculum needed to be changed, a lot of procedures had to be followed.

According to the laws of higher education, if we needed to change the curriculum, we needed to propose to the government and waited for its approval... This was very troublesome.

Similar to informant #5, informant #7 argues that the extent of academic autonomy has not been changed but the government would carefully control the distribution of financial resources.

After 1991, when you wanted to open a new course, the matter would be subject to financial constraints... The university was a public university. The government bought it to train local human resources. The government would invest more in areas where there were high demands. They would invest less in areas where there were few demands.

In contrary, informant #4 argues that academic autonomy was completely lost after the change of ownership because the administrative structure and the leadership were modified.

At that time, the University Council consisted of the Rector, the three members of the Macau Foundation, and some other members of the society... Then there was a standing committee under the University Council. There were six members in the standing committee. They were the three members of the Macau Foundation, the Rector and the two Vice-Rectors. Any issues, which couldn't be decided by the university itself had to pass to the University Council. The standing committee would decide on behalf of the University Council... All issues had to be reported. The Rector lose his authority... In 1991, a new charter was established. The government liked to use the Portuguese term 'homolocation', which was similar to 'approve'. According to the charter, everything had to be 'homolocation'. Everything had to be reported to and approved by the government. There was no academic autonomy.

After the change of ownership, the laws of higher education were set up and a new university charter was enacted. The government had the right to control strictly the curriculum development and the allocation of funds. Some informants did not consider these policies as forms of intervention. They thought that the government needed to assure the quality of programs as well as to truly satisfy the needs of the society. Informant #5 notes:

They (the programs) had to be approved mainly because the government wanted to be assured of, one, the quality of the program was good and was compatible with others. I've noticed that some of the programs that have been passed in the Senate in the past that didn't even have descriptions of the courses. That's one thing that the government would like to be done properly.

However, informant #4 sees that since many issues needed to be approved by the government, the authority of the rector was lost. And since the rector was the academic leader of the university, academic authority was also lost. The other informants perceived that the government continued to adopt a relatively laissez-faire approach, and scholars could enjoy a high degree of academic autonomy.

There were several possible reasons for these diversified opinions. First, the government might have not taken a blunt disruption towards the work of the teachers even though most academic activities had to be reported to and approved by the Standing Committee, as noted by informant #4. Second, the academic atmosphere in the university might not be strong, as suggested by informant #1, therefore, the effect was not felt. Third, since the general social atmosphere was traditionally more receptive, the scholars might also choose consciously not to criticise the government at a very bold manner.

Similar to other colonies, the government monitored the university more closely after the purchase, particularly in terms of budget control. But the tension between the university and the government was smaller than that of other countries, such as Singapore, due to a difference in the local atmosphere.



### **6.3.14 How did the local people react to the change of ownership?**

Different parties had different responses toward the change of ownership. Some people were not even aware that the name of the university was changed. Informant #2 notes that nowadays many people still call the university by its old name.

Even today, some people still call the university by the name of University of East Asia. This shows that the university was very successful.

There were two possible reasons for this phenomenon. First, the old university was so successful that people always remembered its old name. Second, these people did not pay much attention to the changes that happened to the university.

Students who were studying at UEA during the change were very concerned about what the change of ownership would bring. Informant #2 notes:

When the name was changed, some students were not comfortable... First of all, they thought that East Asia covered a larger area. Once it was changed to Macau, psychologically there was a problem... Second, there was the problem of recognition... Before the change, the university had many connections with foreign countries, especially the A.A. program... After the change, students worried whether these connections still existed... The authority had to repeatedly assure the students that their interests would not be negatively affected.

Unlike other regions, such as Malaysia (Selvaratnam, 1989) and Taiwan (Wu, Chen and Wu, 1989), where people welcomed a higher degree of localisation of the university, the reaction of the Macau students showed that they feared the university would become less international after the change of ownership. They perceived that becoming more local might mean that the university would be less significant and less recognised in the world. This in turn would adversely affect their personal interests.

### **6.3.15 What was the degree of localisation of knowledge before and after the change of ownership?**

Most informants note that the university has done many research in various areas that related to the local context. However, informant #1 argues that the conditions to produce localised knowledge were not sufficient

In general, there was no localisation of knowledge because the university was only at the infant stage; its knowledge was difficult to localise... We could only produce some localised knowledge when we already consolidated the foundation... What was the reward to produce localised knowledge ... In the university, the operating system and the staff arrangement was very tough. The university did not provide an incentive system for its staff to do research. Therefore, there wasn't much localisation of knowledge... Another reason was that it was difficult for us to produce a group of local scholars to research on local issues... There were few local scholars... Without local teaching materials and without local scholars to research on local issues, it was difficult to have localisation of knowledge. Thirdly, we had to ask the reasons why we had to do this. We had to see whether localisation of knowledge had any international significance. If it was not significant, it would not happen.

Informant #2 related localisation of knowledge to the promotion of Portuguese culture and noted that the government only started to promote the culture of Macau at the end of the colonial period.

When you looked at the operation of the government, it only started to promote the culture of Macau when its sovereignty was soon finished. Before, it paid little attention on developing Portuguese culture. For example, when I was a student, Portuguese was not important. We did not have to study Portuguese. Only ten years before the handover, the government started to promote Portuguese and organise some cultural activities.

The Portuguese settled in Macau for more than four hundred years and Portuguese influence was indeed an important part of Macau's culture. But despite this history, Portuguese language and culture were not systematically integrated into the lives of the local people. This might be an intentional policy adopted by the

government, as discussed in question 1. Although the government started to adjust this policy in the last decade of the colonial era, there was not enough time to materialise these goals.

Informant #3 argues that there were various research centres within the university, which investigated issues about Macau but the development was affected by the availability of local scholars. So one way to solve this problem was to co-operate with other universities.

In the Faculty of Science and Humanities, there was the Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies. In addition, there was the Centre for Macau Studies. These two centres focused on researching about Macau issues. They were developing local knowledge. Besides these centres, some teachers from the Chinese Department participated in researching the Cantonese dialect... I think Macau did not have many qualified scholars. If we relied solely on scholars from the university to generate knowledge, we didn't have sufficient resources. We had to conduct research by ourselves as well as to co-operate with scholars from other regions.

This view resonated with the previous discussion on the relationships between the university and the Portuguese and Chinese academic communities. Practically the resources of the university were not sufficient, and co-operation with other universities, especially those in Portugal and China, was taken as a necessary and natural development.

Informant #4 argues that localisation of knowledge was reflected in the curriculum development of the university after the transfer of ownership and most research conducted in the university were about Macau.

Localisation of knowledge has started since 1988. Many things were done in this aspect. All the courses in UM were designed according to the practical needs of Macau... Most of the research done by the university were about local issues. It's difficult to comment on the quality. The standards might not be too high. But all the seminars organised by the university were about research on issues of Macau.

Informant #6 relates localisation of knowledge to the co-operations with local organisations.

There was a civil engineering lab in Macau, and its relationship with the university was very good... The Faculty of Business Administration organised in-house training programs for the New Century Hotel. The university served the local organisations directly.

In summary, all informants, except informant #1, agreed to a high extent that the university has been producing knowledge about Macau and applying knowledge to the local context. The differences arose perhaps because Informant #1 was a teacher at the university and his opinion reflected his own experiences. He focused on the working conditions of the academic staff and commented that the university did not provide sufficient incentives for research. Other informants perceived the issue from a more macro point of view, considering what have been done in various faculties and research centres.

But there were also common voices coming from the informants. They all agreed that the availability of human and financial resources were limited. Therefore very often co-operation with other universities and institutions, especially those in China and Portugal, was sought. This relationship was another manifestation of the centre-periphery notion.

## **6.4 Summary**

This chapter discusses the development of higher education in Macau during the colonial period, from 1981 to 1999. This period can be divided into two stages: first the university as a private institution and second, the university as a public institution. The evolution contained some special features when compared with other former colonial universities.

Higher education has been developed only very recently in Macau. Before 1980s, it was entirely absent. As noted in chapter 4, higher education was a tool to provide high-level manpower to colonial governments. Therefore, most colonies established higher education for decades to fulfil this purpose. For example, in Singapore and Hong Kong, higher education was developed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In Macau, this was not the case because unlike the British administration, the Portuguese colonial government was not eager to train local people to work at the civil service. They imported most officials from Portugal. Therefore, they did not see the need to establish a local university for the development of civil servants.

Second, Macau was small when compared to other colonies and it was difficult to support a higher education institution. Bray and Packer (1993) argue that small states are not scaled-down versions of larger states but have ecologies of their own. And one of the challenges that they have to tackle is that of economics.

Third, Macau students had abundant chances to study abroad. Many universities in mainland China and Taiwan were willing to recruit students from Hong Kong and Macau. A small state would often depend on the assistance of overseas institutions and Macau was lucky to be in a geographically convenient location. Consequently, there was little impetus to develop a local higher education institution.

The nature of the first university, the University of East Asia, was also different from most colonial universities. It did not exhibit the characteristics noted by Altbach (1998). It was a private university with little connection with the government. It did not focus on the local community. It worked like a profit-making business organisation and catered mainly for its major clients from Hong Kong and other Asian regions. Due to this reason, the university used a British 3-year bachelor degree system instead of a Portuguese 4-year system. The university created diversified courses to suit the market demands. Some of the courses, such as the MBA program, were successful while others, such as the bachelor programs, found difficulty in recruiting sufficient number of students. In addition, due to the relatively high tuition fees, local students were few.

Table 6.1 Number of Macau students in the university, 1981/1982-1987/1988.

Year	Total	From Macau	% of Total
1981/82	160	62	38.8%
1982/83	426	164	38.5%
1983/84	710	160	22.5%
1984/85	601	196	32.6%
1985/86	812	312	38.4%
1986/87	983	438	44.6%
1987/88	1108	563	50.8%

Source: Relatório de Actividades (1999), Universidade de Macau.

The financial problem of the university plus the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration eventually triggered the transfer of ownership from the private founders to the Portuguese government in 1988. In other words, the government participated in the development and operation of higher education eleven years before the end of the colonial period. Under the new leadership, there were both changes and continuities.

The new purpose of the university was to produce qualified local people, who could contribute to the smooth transition of the sovereignty. Therefore, the university had to re-orientate itself. Instead of serving foreign markets, it developed new courses to suit the local community. Structure-wise, it changed from a 3-year system to a 4-year system, which complied with the Portuguese system. New faculties were also added to the system.

At the administrative level, the university had to follow the procedures and formats established by the government. This did decrease the level of administrative flexibility. For instance, the salary structure needed to follow that of the government and could not be adjusted by the university management.

The university also established a strong centre-periphery relationship with institutions in China and Portugal. More teachers came from the two countries and many projects were developed jointly.

On the other hand, the university also showed features of continuities. English continued to be the most important medium of instruction. Most informants perceived that the university continued to enjoy high degree of academic freedom. However, it was difficult to identify whether self-censorship was practised. The informants argued that apart from some structural changes, they did not observe any other significant modifications and were not pressurised politically. However, one informant did express worries about whether the government has seriously considered any specific long-term plan for higher education development.

In summary, the university demonstrated features of a colonial university when the government took over. However, it only had ten years' time to develop under the rule of the colonial government. In 1999, the sovereignty of the city would return to China and changes were expected in the university. These changes will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 7: Analysis of Data – Effects of De-Colonisation on Higher Education of Macau**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In chapter 6, the effects of colonisation on Macau's higher education were discussed. It noted that higher education was developed very late in Macau due to government policies, the lack of resources, and the availability of studying opportunities in other regions. The first modern university in Macau, the University of East Asia (UEA), was initiated by private founders, not by the colonial government. UEA could not survive very long because of financial problems and its segregation with the local community. At the same time, due to the changing political environment, the colonial government purchased the university through the Macau Foundation in 1988. After the purchase, the university changed its purpose. Before it mainly catered for Hong Kong students. After the change, more local students were attracted. The structure was changed from a three-year to four-year system, which complied with the Chinese and Portuguese models. The administrative procedures had to follow that of the government. More faculties were added to develop the necessary personnel.

As for the degree of autonomy, one informant argued that academic autonomy was lost because the authority of the rector was eliminated. Most issues had to be approved by the government. Other informants noted that the government did not intervene the direction for teaching and research. However, it was difficult to determine whether the staff has exercised any self-censorship. From the surface, the government did not intervene seriously with the academic activities.

In 1999, the sovereignty of Macau was returned to China and the university began another era under the new administration. This chapter focuses on interpreting the effects of de-colonisation on higher education as perceived by the informants. The effects of neo-colonisation and re-colonisation will also be discussed.



## **7.2 Review of Effects of Decolonisation on Schooling and Higher Education**

As stated in chapter 4, the nature of schooling during the process of decolonisation has been commonly affected by four factors:

- (1) Amount of time available for preparation
- (2) Attitude of the colonial powers toward decolonisation
- (3) Availability of human resources
- (4) Nature of the new sovereignty

In Macau, the transition period lasted 12 years. Compared with other colonies, there was more time for preparation. The Portuguese showed more enthusiasm at the end of the colonial period toward the development of schooling and higher education.

As noted in chapter 2, the most critical issues facing the territory during the transitional period were the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of the civil service, and the localisation of laws. All these tasks required large supply of professionals. Due to the earlier policy of the government, Macau relied on external resources to produce these people. However, many of them would not come back and serve the local community. Therefore, one of the most critical jobs of the government was to provide locally more personnel for the smooth transition and the future administration. In 1988, the government purchased the University of East Asia through the Macau Foundation. New faculties were established. They all aimed at providing necessary professionals, such as lawyers, teachers, and engineers, for the local society.

After the political change in 1999, Macau follows the “one country, two systems” formula. Based on this principle, although Macau was re-united with China, it could enjoy high degree of autonomy and maintain its capitalist system for 50 years. This principle also ensures that the new government could determine many of its own businesses, including education.

Chapter 4 shows that in many former Asian colonies, education has become very centralised during de-colonisation. This has been caused by the severe political

tension in these regions, such as Taiwan (Wu, Chen & Wu, 1989) and South Korea (Lee, 1989). Another common feature was the rapid quantitative expansion of schooling. The major purposes were the establishment of national identity and the accommodation of economic development. For example in Malaysia, a new schooling system has been designed to give more privileges to the native people (Selvaratnam, 1989).

As for higher education, quantitative expansion and more governmental participation have been observed. The expansion was necessary in order to develop more human resources to serve the modernisation of the societies. For example, the University of Malaya had a student increase from 323 in 1959 to 10,345 in 1985 (Selvaratnam, *ibid.*). In Singapore, the number of students studying at the National University was increased from 7,137 in 1979 to 15,876 in 1986 (Gopinathan, 1989).

Nevertheless, in Hong Kong, the situation was different. Higher education was expanded in the late 1980s and early 1990s before the handover (Yung, 1999). According to Morris, McClelland and Leung (1994) the reasons for expansion were to meet the government's goal of providing equal access to higher education, to respond to the social demand, and to show that the government had confidence in Hong Kong after the "June.4" Tienanmen Square incident.

Higher education was an important tool to build the national identity. For example, in Taiwan, The Doctrine of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and military training were required for all college students (Wu, Chen and Chen, 1989). In Singapore, the development of the National University has been closely related to government policy and Gopinathan (1989) argues that university autonomy did not exist. In some countries, foreign models of university have been adopted. For example, in Korea, faculty development, curriculum development, and administration were mostly based on the American model (Lee, 1989).

Based on the general observations of various colonies, the following questions were put to the informants.

#### De-colonisation and Higher Education:

- Were there any changes in the purposes of higher education after the change of

sovereignty?

- Has the government invested more resources for the expansion of the university after the political change?
- Were there more courses developed to fit the political and economic growth of the territory?
- Has English continued to be the chief medium of instruction?
- Has Chinese become more important?
- Has Portuguese become less important?
- Have there been more concerns about improving the quality of education?
- Why it seems that in many areas, such as government intervention, there aren't many significant changes after the political change?

Neo-colonisation and Higher Education:

- What is the relationship between UM and the Portuguese academic community after the handover?
- Has the Portuguese government imposed any policies to protect its interests in higher education?

Re-colonisation and Higher Education:

- After the political change, has China exerted more influence on the university? Will there be more co-operation and interflow?
- Were there more concerns to strengthen the knowledge about China after the handover?
- Has there been resistance against the influence from China?
- How should the university develop in the future?

## 7.3 Findings

### 7.3.1 Were there any changes in the purposes of higher education after the change of sovereignty?

Although the sovereignty of Macau was changed in 1999, no significant change in the purposes of higher education was observed. The SAR government has basically inherited the pattern established by the colonial government.

According to the Relatório de Actividades (1998), the government established five major objectives for higher education:

- To improve the conditions for teaching and research and to improve the sense of belonging of qualified teachers.
- To establish internal and external assessment procedures.
- To participate actively in international academic and cultural organisations and their activities.
- To develop specific academic interflows based on the various agreements.
- To encourage research and development activities in various fields.

These objectives could be generally divided into two areas. One was to continuously strengthen the standards of the university and the other was to improve the relationship between UM and the international academic arena.

In 1999, the following objectives were noted in the Relatório de Actividades:

- To continue the developmental procedures of higher education. Attention should be given to the improvement of the functions of various educational institutions and the quality of education.
- To promote the University of Macau in regional and international development.
- To continuously request accreditation of UM courses from overseas countries.
- To encourage publication so as to promote the application of technological products.

- To narrow the distance between local public higher institutions and the general public through mutual participation and co-operation so that the professional and technical standards of the public will be increased.

And in 2000, the Rector of UM made the following message in the Activities Report (p.9).

This year, on the strength of the existing foundation, the University of Macau has made strides in the direction of internationalization and raised the standards of courses, teaching materials, quality of teaching staff and academic research while conforming to international standards. At the same time, the University of Macau continued to maintain its leading position in the provision of higher education and academic research, thus contributing to the long-term development of Macau.

When these objectives were compared, a continuous trend in both internal improvement as well as internationalisation was noted. One of the most significant purposes of the university continued to be the consolidation of the development of Macau. In other words, the current objectives of the university have been laid down during the colonial period and were carried forward by the new university administration.

Altbach (1989, p.16) argues that in Asian universities, “the western academic culture and organization predominates but it is shaped by indigenous influences.” UM illustrates this point since most features of the colonial university remained unaffected but some changes were adopted to meet local needs.

Informant #1 says there was no significant change because the government did not give top priority to reforming higher education and the purpose of higher education was not clear.

The reason is that higher education is not among the most critical problems that the government has to solve. Therefore, there is no specific plan about the development of higher education... I think, regardless of whether it's the society, the government or the people, we are not clear about the type of higher education that we need.

However, informant #2 mentions that more emphasis has been placed on the Chinese language.

Before, Portuguese was a compulsory course in some faculties... Last year, it was discussed that Portuguese and Chinese should enjoy equal status, that is, either both languages are compulsory courses, or both are minor courses.

Altbach (*ibid.*, p.18) notes: "Language choice has been a key element of indigenization in Asian higher education and while transitions have been difficult, adjustments have been made." The status of Chinese has been improved in UM, but it has not replaced English as the chief medium of instruction. It is only used in some courses to meet the demand of students.

Informant #3 argues that the key purpose of the university continues to be the provision of more human resources for the development of the local community. However, unlike informant #1 who considers there is a lack of clarity, informant #3 believes the overall direction of the government is clearer after the political change.

I think there is no change in the objectives. Higher education has to match the development of Macau to train people. But the direction of the government is clearer. Before the handover, many people did not know the direction of the government and how to cope with the environment... I think before many people did not care about governmental policies. But now the Chief Executive will publicly present the policies and people can discuss them. This will allow people to have a better understanding of Macau's future development.

Although the aims of higher education have not changed significantly, the government has conveyed clearer messages to the public about some new development projects. And because people now know more about future government plans, they will have more confidence in the employment of university graduates. Compared with the colonial government, the SAR government has attempted to make its policies more transparent to the public and has strongly encouraged the development of tourism and telecommunication industries. And the university is responsible in producing qualified personnel for these industries.

The case of Macau is similar to that of most Asian colonies where higher education is closely tied to the economic development. For instance, the National University of Singapore is considered as “a major instrument in providing Singapore with the skilled manpower needed to run a rapidly modernizing economy” (Gopinathan, 1989, p.221). And Lee (1989, p.253-254) notes the importance of higher education to the development of Korea after its independence.

The Republic of Korea, as a newly industrialized nation, stands among the notable success in the developing world. In economics and international trade, Korea has received acclaim at the semi-advanced level... It is through the contribution of higher education that the hopes of Koreans were realized.

### **7.3.2 Has the government invested more resources for the expansion of the university after the political change?**

As discussed in chapter 4, many universities would expand after the territories have gained independence. The objective is to change colonial elite education to more popular education. However, in Macau, many public tertiary institutions were set up during the 1990s before the political change. For instance, the Macau Security Force Superior School (ESFSM) was established in 1988. The Macau Polytechnic Institute (MPI) was established as an independent institution in 1991 and the Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT) was established in 1995 (Bray, 2002). Besides these public institutions, the number of private tertiary institutions has also increased.

Table 7.1 Enrolments in public tertiary institutions, 1996/1997-2000/2001

	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01
UM	3,126	2,879	3,076	3,128	3,223
MPI	1,065	1,301	1,422	1,730	2,020
IFT	121	169	213	220	233
ESFSM	24	---	13	13	23

Source: Bray (2002)

The number of enrolments in public tertiary institutions has increased from 4,336 in 1996/1997 to 5,499 in 2000/2001. For UM, there has been a gradual increase from 1997/1998 to 2000/2001.

Table 7.2 Block grant from government for tertiary institutions, 1996-2000 (\$'000)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
UM	170,000	150,000	166,250	186,000	200,000
MPI	96,121	161,208	114,000	120,602	133,000
IFT	40,028	43,000	40,850	37,000	38,000

Source: Bray (2002)

As for the grants provided by the government, UM experienced a steady increase from 1997 to 2000. The increase percentage has been about 10% each year.

Despite these facts, two informants argue that the government has not rapidly dramatically expanded higher education after the political change. Informant #1 argues that there is a lack of overall planning and the financial situation of the government is not very positive.

Higher education is not one of the most critically concerned policies of the government. Since it is not important, not much money will be input. Second, the financial situation of the government was not sound before the handover. Large-scale expansion is not feasible.

Informant #2 argues that possible expansion relies on the market demand and long-term planning is difficult to establish.

The expansion of the university depends on the market. The university will only respond when it sees the demand. It is relatively difficult to observe an overall long-term planning.

The expansion of higher education in Macau before the handover can be compared to that of Hong Kong. In both cities, higher education was expanded when China made agreements with the corresponding colonisers. The Hong Kong



government explicitly announced that the number of first-year, first-degree places would increase from 7,000 to 15,000 between 1990 and 1995 (Morris, McClelland and Leung, 1994). Although in Macau no target figures were made, an overall expansion was observed both in the number of institutions and in many cases, the number of students in each institution. In other words, the colonial government not only prepared human resources for the transition, but also produced higher-level manpower for the new government. This point was mentioned in chapter 6.

Informant #1 argues that higher education expanded during the end of the colonial period because there was a lack of direction for higher education development. But he also worries whether increased quantity of tertiary institutions equalled improved quality of the graduates.

From the perspective of the government, there were still too few qualified personnel (during the 1990s). Therefore, if someone was interested in establishing tertiary institution, the government felt it would be better than none. It was benefited to Macau if more human resources could be developed. However, it was not certain whether more tertiary institutions would mean the development of more high-quality personnel.

### **7.3.3 Were there more courses developed to fit the political and economic growth of the territory?**

Altbach (1989) argues that in most colonies, the curriculum followed closely to that of the metropole and was not relevant to the local societies. Due to this problem, many universities would modify the curricula after independence.

In chapter 6, it was noted the university has worked closely with Portuguese and Chinese institutions before the political change. After the change, more new courses were opened. In 1999, the Faculty of Education started a master degree program in Curriculum Development and Educational Administration and a bachelor degree program in primary education specialising in Portuguese language. In 2000, a master degree course in Public Administration, a master degree course in E-commerce Technology, a post-graduate certificate course in History Studies, and a bachelor program in Economics were opened (University of Macau, 2000).

Three informants agree that although there are new courses established, there is no significant change in general. Informant #1 notes that the university has been following the demands of the society.

There is nothing special. In general, the university supports the political and economic growth of the territory... The university has done this before the change of sovereignty... It has some plans, for example, to open some new courses in social sciences.

Even before the change of sovereignty, the university opened courses to meet the local demands. This trend has continued after the change, as noted earlier in question 1. Within this context, informant #1 perceives there is no significant change. This phenomenon is quite different to what happened in other countries where colonial universities were distant from the local context. For example, colonial higher education in India has been criticised of its alien character (Basu, 1989). In colonial Malaysia, higher education was Eurocentric and unrelated to the environment of Malaysian students (Selvaratnam, 1989). But in Macau higher education began to focus on local issues when the colonial government gained ownership of the university and this philosophy has continued after the change of sovereignty.

#### **7.3.4 Has English continued to be the chief medium of instruction?**

In general, many universities adopted the national languages as languages of instruction after the independence of the countries. However, in Macau, neither Chinese nor Portuguese, has been selected as the chief medium of instruction. Instead, English, which is not an official language, is the predominant language at UM. Similar to what happened in the colonial period, English is selected due to the international nature of the university and the social context.

Informant #1 sees this as a need to maintain the internationalisation of the city.

From an informal point of view, English is an international popular language. As an international city, it is most beneficial to use English as the medium of instruction.

Informant #2 considers this arrangement as a practical need.

In the Faculty of Business Administration, English is the medium of instruction because there are many foreign teachers.

Similar to informant #1, informant #3 argues that English is used because UM is an international institution. It has to cater for students, who come from various backgrounds.

We must maintain English as the medium of instruction. First, our target is to become an international university. Therefore, we have to use an international language for instruction. Second, we have many exchange students. If we use Chinese, they cannot understand the lectures. In addition, there are also more and more students from the mainland. If we use Cantonese as the medium, they will not understand. Pragmatically we have to use English as the medium.

English has continued to be the medium of instruction at UM because of several reasons. First, the university wants to maintain the status as an international university, therefore, English is selected as the teaching language. Second, it also needs to cater for the language ability of foreign teachers and students. Within this context, Chinese and Portuguese will be less appropriate languages. The notion that the English language was important in the international knowledge network (Altbach, 1989) has extended from the colonial period to the SAR period.

### **7.3.5 Has Chinese become more important?**

Three informants agree that Chinese has become more important, but they think that this is not related to the political change. Similar to the use of English, this reflects the realistic need of the society and the voluntary choice of the teachers and students. Informant #1 notes that Chinese is used in some faculties but not in all courses.

The importance of Chinese has increased. For example, Chinese is the medium of instruction in the Faculty of Education and in the Chinese Department. But in other courses, it seemed that Chinese has not been used as the teaching language. Perhaps in some courses, more Chinese materials, books, and papers may be used. But this does not have a strong relationship with the change of sovereignty. This is just an academic demand.

Informant #2 argues that the increasing use of Chinese is related to the expansion of courses and it does not have any direct relationship with the change of sovereignty.

Before there was neither the Faculty of Education nor the Law Program. But then courses were expanded. Courses which mainly used Chinese were added... It did not seem to have any relationship with the handover.

Similar to other informants, informant #3 thinks that more Chinese has been used due to the demand of the courses.

For example, we have the post-graduate diploma course in History. Because it is about Chinese history, therefore, it is taught in Chinese. And we have the bachelor degree course in public administration. This course mainly caters for the need of in-service civil servants and it is also conducted in Chinese... These courses needed to use Chinese as the teaching language. It does not mean that the university wants to change its direction and uses Chinese as a chief medium of instruction.

In summary, some new courses use Chinese as the medium of instruction. This shows that a certain degree of indigenisation has taken place, though this may not have a direct relationship with the political environment. Macau's situation can be compared to that of India, where indigenous languages have been used in higher education but English remains the chief language of instruction (Altbach, *ibid.*).

In addition, informant #3 notes that more students choose to learn Putonghua.

We have more students who learn Putonghua. And we have also established a Putonghua testing centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities... This centre mainly caters for students.

After they have finished the Putonghua course, they can sit for the test. This can guarantee that they have reached a certain level.

The increased number of students who are interested in learning Putonghua may be treated either as a sign of indigenisation or acceptance of a new element because Putonghua is the official language of China but it is not a major language in Macau before the handover. After the political change, Macau and the mainland are getting closer both socially and economically. Knowledge of Putonghua is becoming more important. Unlike other countries where the language of the new sovereignty is imposed on higher education, neither the government nor the university authority has forced the students to learn the language. It is the people who take the initiation to learn the language. This shows that more students are actively and willingly trying to get closer to the culture of mainland.

### **7.3.6 Has Portuguese become less important?**

In some territories, the universities have intentionally abandoned the languages of the colonisers to reflect the new political authority. For instance, the Gadjah Mada University of Indonesia wanted to use Indonesian language as the medium of instruction instead of the Dutch language (Cummings & Kasenda, 1989). In India, some universities shifted to use Hindi as the medium of instruction (Basu, 1989). However, in Macau, Portuguese is still one of the official languages after the political change. The teaching and promotion of the language continues in UM. But the responses towards these activities become less enthusiastic.

Informant #2 argues that since there are not many Portuguese courses in the university, it is difficult to observe any major change. Informant #3 mentions that the university continues to provide Portuguese courses and recruit students, but very often the responses are indifferent.

The importance of Portuguese can be divided into two parts. We continue to operate and recruit students for the Portuguese bachelor degree programs, but only two to three students applied, therefore the courses were not opened... As for the promotion of Portuguese, we organise summer courses, which are opened to people from

various regions. For graduate studies, we have a master degree course in Portuguese language, but there are few students... This year we opened a bachelor degree course in Portuguese language. It targeted at students without any knowledge of the language. But it's a pity that only two students applied. Therefore, this course was not offered at the end.

The university continues to promote the Portuguese language after the political change but the responses are weak. Despite the fact that Portuguese continues to be an official language, its significance has gradually decreased. Instead of studying Portuguese, more students now choose to learn Putonghua, as noted in the above question. Therefore, although Chinese and Portuguese have the same legitimate status, people prioritise them in a subtle manner. But again, their selection may not be a political move. Portuguese becomes less popular because it is a less useful language in the social environment.

### **7.3.7 Have there been more concerns about improving the quality of education?**

In many regions, expansion of higher education was recorded during de-colonisation period. This also led to concerns about lowering standards of both inputs and outputs. For instance, in Hong Kong, the University Grants Committee conducted periodic teaching and learning quality reviews for all UGC funded institutions (Yung, 1999).

Two informants argue that there have not been increased concerns about improving the quality of education. Informant #1 says:

Informally, some teachers have tried to explore this issue... But there isn't any specific objective or plan.

Informant #2 suggests that the laid-back culture of Macau creates a less critical nature of the people and the pressure is smaller.

There isn't much pressure on improving the quality of education... First of all, the quality of education isn't too bad. In addition, the culture of Macau people is relatively casual. Very often, they are

satisfied with one degree. They seldom ask for more. Therefore, the pressure has not been great.

Informant #3 argues that some people have casually criticised the quality of university students without any scientific evidence.

The current rate of secondary school graduates entering tertiary institutions is very high in Macau, therefore, the average quality of students is not as high as before. But should we take away their chances of further education or should we use four years to improve their standards? This is an issue. I think some people have used just a few cases to criticise the overall performance of students. In fact, we need a very careful investigation before we can comment.

Despite some negative comments, the university implements some policies to maintain the quality. Informant #3 mentions:

First of all, we need a group of better students... Therefore, we have a direct admission program... Second, we want to increase the number of teachers who have got doctorate degrees... Students will have more chances to know some distinguished scholars... In addition, we hope to work with our alumni to improve our students' awareness of the competitive world. We also strongly support the activities of the Students Association. We hope our students can develop in different areas by participating in various activities.

Informant #7 notes that the university authority has approved some measures to improve quality.

The university authority has approved the formation of a sub-committee, which is responsible for quality improvement. It will evaluate teaching quality and seek mechanisms to improve it. A centre will also be established to oversee works of quality improvement.

However, informant #4 argues that many old measures of the UEA period, which can safeguard quality have been cancelled.

The external examiner system has been cancelled. And the regulations for examinations have not been practised... If people

question the quality of UM, how would you answer? Some people say yes it is good, some people say no. You have to show people something. But now, you have nothing to prove to them.

The responses show that the university authority does concern the quality of education. It implements policies on attracting students with better academic scores and recruiting teachers with doctorate degrees. A general assessment and improvement scheme has just been established. Academic evaluation requires a careful, scientific and fair approach, which the university is developing.

Besides internal force, the university faces competition with other institutions. More tertiary institutions were established in Macau and in neighbouring regions, hence, UM needs to improve to attract the best students. Informant #3 argues:

Macau is a special place. The transition rate of secondary school graduates entering tertiary institutions may be the highest in the world... It is difficult for us to attract students to continue their studies in Macau. It is even more difficult to draw the best students to stay here... If we don't improve, we may not get enough students. As far as quality is concerned, we cannot attain a group of good students. This is an obvious problem. In addition, the number of local tertiary institutions is increasing... Students have more choices.

As discussed earlier, several public and private tertiary institutions have been set up in Macau since the 1990s. Some of them, such as the Macau Polytechnic Institute and the Macau University of Science and Technology, compete directly with UM for local secondary school graduates. In addition, institutions in other regions, such as the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, are also attracting students from Macau. Within this context, UM has to modify and improve in order to survive. One of its current competitive advantages is being the oldest local tertiary institution and people will have more confidence in its operation. But as the other institutions are also striving for quality, UM has to plan carefully in order to maintain its strengths.



### **7.3.8 Why it seems that in many areas, such as government intervention or teaching method, there aren't many significant changes after the political change?**

Informant #1 thinks that it is because the government does not consider higher education an important issue on the agenda.

First, it's only one to two years after the handover. We cannot anticipate any major change in one to two years. Second, the SAR government has not placed higher education in an important position. The university itself is more or less the same. The operation, structure, finance, and students are all the same. There is no impetus to change. Third, the university authority has not yet, both formally and informally, discussed this issue. Hence, there isn't any change.

Informant #2 suggests that the current policy is to maintain stability rather than to create significant changes.

The current policy is to maintain stability, therefore, no significant change is expected.

Informant #3 argues that the government controls the university by monitoring the expenditure, curriculum development, and administrative procedures.

Actually the government does not need to intervene. It manages the total expenditure of the university. When we want to open a new course, if the government thinks that it is not needed by the society, it will not approve the course. When we submitted proposals to the government, in fact, all proposals were approved. This is because we thought carefully before submission... We have a high degree of autonomy. Of course we have to follow the recruitment process or accounting system of a public institution. We have more problems here. For instance, the accounting system is not flexible. But this is not an obvious intervention of the government.

Altbach (1989, p. 17) argues: "Academic freedom has been partially restricted in some Asian countries and this is a matter of considerable controversy". In many countries, certain topics are considered to be highly sensitive and will be

restricted by the government. In Macau, the SAR government has maintained the legitimacy to control the financial resources, and the administrative procedures of the university. But many informants feel that teachers are free to pursue their own teaching and research. Although there is a control mechanism, the government has not intervened the academic activities. However, it is difficult to judge whether self-censorship has been practised by the staff.

### **7.3.9 What is the relationship between UM and the Portuguese academic community after the handover?**

In many countries, the colonisers maintain strong influence on the colonial universities after colonisation. Kelly and Altbach (1984, p.4) argue: “Neocolonialism constitutes the various aspects of the continuing influence of, or domination by, the metropolitan nations over the newly independent nations of the Third World.”

Informant #1 thinks that the relationship between UM and the Portuguese universities has naturally weakened after the political change because the administrative connection between the two places is no longer present.

The university itself has not intentionally improved or weakened its relationship with Portuguese universities. Academically speaking, this is not necessary. I think before the handover it was due to some administrative reason that UM established some connections with Portuguese universities. After the handover, these connections have gradually weakened, but it's not intentional.

In contrary, informant #2 notices that there are continuous co-operations between the two regions, so it is difficult to say whether the relationship has weakened. Informant #3 also notes that there are continuous interflows.

Many Portuguese universities have participated in functions organised by UM... We have some joint projects with Portuguese organisations. In addition, we have sent some engineering students to further their studies at some graduate schools in Portugal.

The university still has connections with Portugal but the forms may have been changed. Informant #7 notes:

The relationship with CRUP has not changed... But the format is different. Before the handover, the university was a member. Now it is an invited member. Before Portuguese teachers came to the university through a government-to-government channel. Now they come through a university-to-university channel. There is a slight change here.

Informant #5 argues that the relationship has weakened due to some personal preferences.

It (the relationship) decreased a little bit because some of the staff would like to show they were more patriotic. They were afraid of co-operating with Portuguese universities. They thought they should follow the line of closer co-operation with China.

At the formal level, UM maintains a positive relationship with the Portuguese academic community. But due to the political reason, the forms of connection have been changed. At the personal level, some staff may prefer working with Chinese institutions to Portuguese institutions. Students may choose to enrol courses at their own discretion. This shows that people have their own will power to do what they see most fit for themselves.

#### **7.3.10 Has the Portuguese government imposed any policies to protect its interests in higher education?**

Although some activities and connections have extended from the colonial period, the Portuguese government has not made any significant changes in policies to protect its interests in higher education after the political change. Informant #2 thinks that this is due to the character of the Portuguese people.

The character of the Portuguese people is different from that of Hong Kong [the British]. Hong Kong [the British] may have intentionally setup something to maintain its interests. But the

Portuguese are more relaxed. I don't think they will look at long-term issues. Therefore, I cannot observe any intentional actions that they have imposed on the university to protect their own culture or interests.

Informant #3 argues that it is difficult to judge whether the Portuguese government has done anything to protect its interests.

I see that the Portuguese Department continues to do training and promotion. I see that it is very active. But I cannot tell how much of it is supported by the Portuguese government.

On the other hand, informant #4 notes that the Portuguese government has tried to set up some institutions.

The Portuguese government has established the Inter-University Institute of Macau and the Portuguese Secondary School. But there will not be many students. There is a political motive but there is no effect.

Informant #7 argues that Portugal has continued to support the university through the recognition of degrees, which is the most obvious form of connection.

The Ministry of Education has guaranteed that our courses can be recognised by going through the ordinary procedures. This is a matter of connection and it is very obvious.

In general, the university continues to organise and promote Portuguese courses after the political change. In addition, the Portuguese government has also supported the establishment of some institutions. However, people have freedom to participate in these institutions and it was noticed that the level of enthusiasm was decreased.

On the other hand, Portugal is willing to maintain the connection with the university by sustaining the procedures, which recognise the degrees offered by UM. In fact, this arrangement is very important to UM because it admits the level of standard of the university and provides students with bigger area of development.

**7.3.11 After the political change, has China exerted more influence on the university? Will there be more co-operation and interflow?**

Law (1997a) argues that recolonisation of higher education refers to the changes that a new sovereign power has made in order to consolidate its ruling power in the territory. He uses Taiwan as an example to illustrate the various measures that the National government has implemented to 'mainlandise' the higher education system of Taiwan.

Comparatively, all informants argue that the government of China has not exerted any influence on the local higher education after the change of sovereignty. Although the university has organised more joint-activities with mainland universities, it did not imply a stronger influence from China. Informant #1 notes:

After the handover, there are more co-operations with mainland universities. There are more teachers, students, and research... I don't think they are systematic activities.

Informant #2 similarly argues that it is difficult to judge whether the organisation of activities is related to the handover.

Recently the university established more faculties, such as the Faculty of Law. There are Chinese programs taught in the faculty. The responsible teachers are those who have performed legal translation work in Macau or who have done some legal works in China. Perhaps it is due to the nature of these courses that make the university seems to have more communication with China. In addition, there are other Chinese courses, such as History, offered by the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. The faculty also recruits teachers from China. If these teachers want to do research, they will first relate to what they have done or what resources their mainland universities will provide. Within this context, the communication between UM and mainland universities has been enhanced. But we cannot observe any intentional force imposed by the government.

The communication between UM and mainland universities has been improved because of the backgrounds of some of the Chinese staff. And since more teachers and researchers from China are recruited, UM will have more contacts with mainland universities. But there is no indication that the connections are forced upon by the government.

Informant #3 argues that the influence from China could be considered in terms of support rather than political pressure.

The number of Chinese provinces and cities where we are allowed to recruit students has been increased to 14. This is a big support (from the central government). According to my understanding, universities in Hong Kong cannot recruit students directly from China... I think the central government has strongly supported Macau and UM.

It is also important to remark that the relationship between Macau and China has been very close traditionally. Informant #3 continues:

We have been recruiting Chinese students since 1985... The relationship is mutual... Traditionally, many students from Macau would further their studies in China. The Macau Foundation has granted scholarships for bachelor, master, and doctorate degrees... Relatively, the Foundation has also supported Chinese students to study in Macau... We have a good relationship with the Education Department (of China)... UM students have more interflows with mainland universities and better relationship with the Liaison Office... The atmosphere in Macau is different from that of Hong Kong... Traditionally we have closer relationship with China.

At the social level, Macau and China had close relationship before the handover. This is a significant point, which differs Macau from Hong Kong. So the Chinese government is often willing to support.

On the other hand, the Chinese government has not intervened and will not intervene the operation of the university because both Hong Kong and Macau are role models for the "one country, two systems" formula. China wants to re-unite Taiwan based on the same approach and it will not do anything to destroy this principle. Informant #4 argues:

From the perspective of the Chinese government, it hopes that Macau and Hong Kong can act as role models for Taiwan... I believe that the Chinese government will not intervene in any businesses of UM. It should grant independence and autonomy to Hong Kong and Macau, and maintain the situation for fifty years. The Chinese government will support everything that is beneficial to Hong Kong and Macau.

Due to this political concern, the Chinese government will not intervene the operations of the university. Instead, it has been providing help to the university since the 1980s.

At a more macro level, the society of Macau has been more receptive towards mainland than that of Hong Kong. As suggested by informant #3, close co-operation between the Education Department of China and UM has already been established when the university was still a private institution. The relationship has been developing throughout the years. This phenomenon resonates with the concept of “decolonisation within a colonial context” stated in chapter 2. The Chinese government was already providing aids to the university before the colonial retreat. Its support has been positive for the development of the university without which the university might not evolve further.

#### **7.3.12 Were there more concerns to strengthen the knowledge about China after the handover?**

Informant #3 notes that the university encourages students to know more about China through the organising of extra-curricular activities and not by forced measures.

When more activities are organised, then more knowledge (about China) will be gained... Actually in order to know more about China and to increase the sense of belonging to Macau... students should go to the mainland to have some interflows. They should first know and understand more about mainland students and teachers. After knowing, they can develop their sense of belonging.

Informant #3 points out that besides in-class teaching, the actual experience of the students is very important for them to understand China. Therefore, the university has organised various activities for the students to have direct contact with China and to let them develop the connections toward the country.

### **7.3.13 Has there been resistance against the influence from China?**

Since all informants perceive that there is no influence from China, correspondingly, there is no resistance against any influence. But there are some worries from informant #1.

I cannot see any resistance. If there are more influences, academically it will not cause any problems. But if the influence from China becomes very great, then the difference between UM and mainland universities will be small... If this really happens, I think the uniqueness of UM will be gone. The objective of development of UM will be harder to identify.

Informant #3 argues that the Macau society is very supportive to the central government. Since the university is a social institution, its relationship with the mainland is also positive.

I haven't heard of any resistance. I think this is a natural situation... The Macau mass media will not criticise the government. They are more supportive. And they will not criticise the central government. There is a supportive atmosphere in the society. This is a traditional culture... The university is also part of the society... The atmosphere is more friendly.

Informant #3 points out a special feature of Macau's society, which is different from that of Hong Kong, i.e. it generally welcomes the change of sovereignty and accepts supportive measures from the mainland. This is because the presence of leftist power has been historical. Consequently, when the Joint Declaration was signed in the 1980s, the people were well prepared to welcome the new sovereignty.



Informant #5 argues China is not influencing Macau but is imposing some competition on the university.

I don't see any interference from China into the affairs of the University of Macau. The government of China won't do this. There is only sense of competition for UM towards some Chinese universities that are much roaming up just nextdoor. This has some influence on UM. It's a sense of competition. They have to improve the quality of their programs. I don't think besides this the Chinese government will do anything.

Based on the principle of "one country, two systems" principle, the Chinese government has not intervened the university. Instead, it provides support by allowing the university to recruit Chinese students and to send teachers to Macau when requested by the university. On the other hand, the university also welcomes the help from China and shows little resistance.

#### **7.3.14 How should the university develop in the future?**

As noted above, many universities are competing with UM for Macau students. In order to survive, it needs to identify its own competitive advantages. Informant #1 argues that it can position itself as the meeting point of East and West cultures.

The position of UM should be similar to that of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the mission of which is a meeting point of East and West cultures... Macau is very small. If UM loses its uniqueness, it won't have any space to survive. If the university is situated in Zhuhai, it will lose its uniqueness... The Chinese University is successful in the sense that it has maintained Chinese culture in the institution... The role is to introduce Chinese culture to the international arena.

Informant #4 has a different opinion. He argues that the university should maintain its internationalisation.

The University of Macau should not become a Portuguese university. It should neither become a Chinese university... It must become an

international university. The University of East Asia also used this approach. Its teachers came from all parts of the world.

Similarly, informant #6 notes that the university must be well connected to the international network in order to develop.

Macau is an international port and it is easy to travel to different areas of the world. Most of the courses in UM are conducted in English. Many professors are expatriates. Of course, we have to admit that there is support from mainland China... This is a support from the East. But we also need to import things from the West... including language... either English or Portuguese... The SAR government needs to develop better relationships with Portuguese speaking countries.

Macau is small, but has a unique colonial past, and is now a special administrative region of China with high level of autonomy. These factors create a special context for its higher education development. Informant #1 argues that it is the meeting place of East and West cultures. But at the same time, it has some rich local elements, many of which are hybrid. To develop its higher education, all these conditions must be taken into account and balanced. First, local studies and research must be continued to build up characteristics of the university. This is the localisation process of the university. Second, since Macau is part of China, close co-operation with the mainland is encouraged. As mentioned by informant #6, this is something that must be admitted. This is the nationalisation process. Third, the university has to align with the international network. Law (1997a) notes that Taiwan expands its international education relations in order to break the containment by mainland China. In Macau, the strategy is different. The university should maintain its internationalisation in order to enhance its uniqueness among various mainland universities, otherwise, its attractiveness to students, local or foreign, will be vanished. Altbach (1998, p. xxi) argues: "Internationalization is a positive aspect of contemporary education – although mechanisms for financing and administering it need to be developed further." The issue now is to research on ways to balance these processes as well as to excel in them.

## 7.4 Summary

This chapter discusses the development of higher education in Macau after the change of sovereignty in December 1999.

In general, not many significant changes were observed in the university after the political change although more courses have been developed to meet the local demands. The purposes, the structure, the administration, and the language of instruction, have basically inherited the patterns established by the colonial government.

English continues to be the chief medium of instruction in the university. This is similar to the trends in Hong Kong, Singapore, and India. Altbach (1989, p. 12) argues: "The influence of the English language is pervasive and subtle." The university has not replaced English with another language because it targets to be an international university and it wants to remain in the international academic network where English is most widely used. It also continues to recruit expatriate professors and foreign students.

Although English is the chief teaching language, Chinese has become more important in some programs. For instance, in the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Law, Chinese has been more commonly used due to the needs of the students. In addition, more students show interests in learning Putonghua. On the other hand, although the university continues to offer Portuguese courses and promote the Portuguese language, the enrolments are often dissatisfactory. This is a natural response from the indigenous society because after Chinese has become one of the official languages, the knowledge of Portuguese has gradually become less important.

Autonomy is still controversial in many countries, such as Korea and Taiwan (Postiglione, 1997). In Macau, the government controls the university by managing its expenditure, and administrative formality. For instance, the opening of new courses has to be approved by the government. But as noted by informant #3, all proposals that were submitted in the past have been approved. Therefore, although the mechanism of intervention is present, it seems that the government has not yet

disrupted the academic activities. Nonetheless, it is impossible to evaluate whether the staff has exercised any self-censorship.

After the political change, the university maintains its normal relationship with the Portuguese academic community. Most informants perceive that the Portuguese government has not intentionally imposed any policies to protect its interests in higher education, except for establishing the Inter-University Institute of Macau and the Portuguese School before the handover.

As for the relationship between the university and the mainland, continuous support from the mainland can be observed. But this is not something that happened only after the handover, but part of a strong historical bonding between the two regions. There are more joint activities with mainland universities, and more Chinese teachers and students have come to UM. This phenomenon is generally perceived as a natural evolvement rather than a political intervention or recolonisation. Resistance towards these activities has been small. Instead, teachers and students are eager to understand more about China and to form closer links with the mainland.

Most informants believe that the university should continue its internationalisation in order to stand out from the many mainland universities. Macau should use its advantage as an international port to build up its own strengths.

In the following chapter, the extent to which Macau is similar to or different from the general trends will be examined at a higher level of conceptualisation.

## **Chapter 8: Conclusion: An Overview of the Impact of Political Change on the University of Macau**

### **8.1 Introduction**

As noted in the introductory chapter, Macau is a city, which has not been comprehensively researched. It has many elements, which distinguish it from other regions. In the last two chapters, the effects of colonisation and decolonisation on higher education have been presented through the analysis of the interviews. The informants expressed their personal views on the impact of political change on the university.

This chapter will interpret the changes that the university has made at a higher level of conceptualisation. The similarities and differences between higher education of Macau and the general trends will be discussed. At the end, suggestions about the university's development will be presented.

### **8.2 Before 1981**

During most of the colonial period, the Portuguese generally adopted a laissez-faire approach towards education in Macau. The government only took care of the few public schools. The private schools received little attention (Bray and Hui, 1991). Higher education was also absent. This resonates with Watson's (1982) argument that in many cases colonisers paid too little attention to education.

The absence of higher education was also due to the economy of scale. Informant #1 mentions:

It is not easy to set up a university. If Macau people wanted to get higher education, there were many choices in other regions. I think this was another reason that affected the consideration of those who wanted to invest in higher education... If no one enrolled in the university, how could it operate?

Compared to many colonies Macau was small. Bray and Packer (1993) note that the lack of economies of scale was a critical constraint on small states and their educational development. Similar situations can be found in Montserrat and Brunei Darussalam, where part or whole of post-secondary education was conducted outside the states. Bray and Packer (p. 59) argue: "Post-secondary education is expensive, and costs assume greater prominence in small economies than in large ones."

The literature shows that colonial higher education serves several purposes. First, it caters for the need of the children of the colonisers, as in Taiwan (Kumnuch, 1996) and Korea (Lee, 1989). Second, it responds to the urgent need of the society, as in Singapore (Gopinathan, 1989) and Hong Kong (Hui and Poon, 1999). Third, it provides a means of upward mobility to the local people, as in India (Basu, 1989). Fourth, it provides manpower for the government, as in India (*ibid.*) and Hong Kong (Hui and Poon, 1999). Fifth, it spreads the knowledge and ideas of the colonisers, as in Taiwan (Kumnuch, 1996) and India (Basu, 1989).

In Macau, due to the absence of a local tertiary institution, some of these purposes were fulfilled by two external sources. One was the universities in Portugal. Portuguese children would return to Portugal to further their studies after they finished their secondary school in Macau. The other source was a variety of overseas institutions that provided opportunities for students from Chinese and Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. When these students returned to Macau, they could provide their expertise to the local society. Attaining higher education overseas could also be a means of upward social mobility.

In many colonies, higher education is a means to train manpower for the civil service. However, in Macau, the government brought in their own administrators from Portugal to work at middle to top positions. The junior positions were usually filled by Macanese who could master the Portuguese language. But these positions did not require university training. Consequently it was not essential to develop a local university.

In summary, the administrative policy, the financial constraint, and the availability of external opportunities created an environment where local higher education seemed to be not necessary. The territory was totally dependent on foreign

universities for higher education. The problems with this phenomenon were that the students might not come back after their studies and a certain degree of brain drain occurred. The curricula might also have little relevance to the local society.

### **8.3 The Development of the University of East Asia**

In 1981 the University of East Asia (UEA) was established. It was founded due to several factors.

- The Hong Kong government had not yet expanded higher education in the early 1980s and it did not support the development of private universities. This resulted in a high demand for higher education from Hong Kong students.
- There was no tertiary institution in Macau and the government granted permission to set up a private degree-awarding university.
- Hong Kong and Macau were very close both geographically and socially, and there was convenient transportation between the two cities.
- A group of investors considered it an opportunity to set up a private university in Macau to gain profit as well as to satisfy the needs of Hong Kong students.

UEA was an early product of the marketisation of higher education. Its direction was closely linked to what happened in Hong Kong. In order to fit the demand, a British model university was built in a Portuguese colony. These conditions were not present in other colonies. Mellor (1988, p. 1) notes:

The originators also expected to identify and fill postsecondary voids in that loosely defined region of the 'Far East'. The key to their purpose was flexibility – flexibility in the range, mode, and levels of the curricula, flexibility of a sort not readily found and rarely long surviving in the usual pattern of universities.

As discussed above, the lack of economies of scale was a problem for Macau. Therefore, in order to survive UEA had to rely on external resources in many ways. First, most students were recruited from Hong Kong. This was a re-actional strategy

adopted by the university. Bray and Packer (1993, p. 192) argue: “The most obvious strategy was through economies of scale gained by recruitment of students from outside the territory.” In addition, the chief personnel were experienced educators from Hong Kong or English-speaking countries. The university created programs driven by the needs of the market. The consequence was that the university had few connections with the colonial government, the metropole, and the local society. It was an alien system in Macau. Although it was founded in a colony, it was not a typical colonial university and would not be expected to demonstrate the necessary identified features.

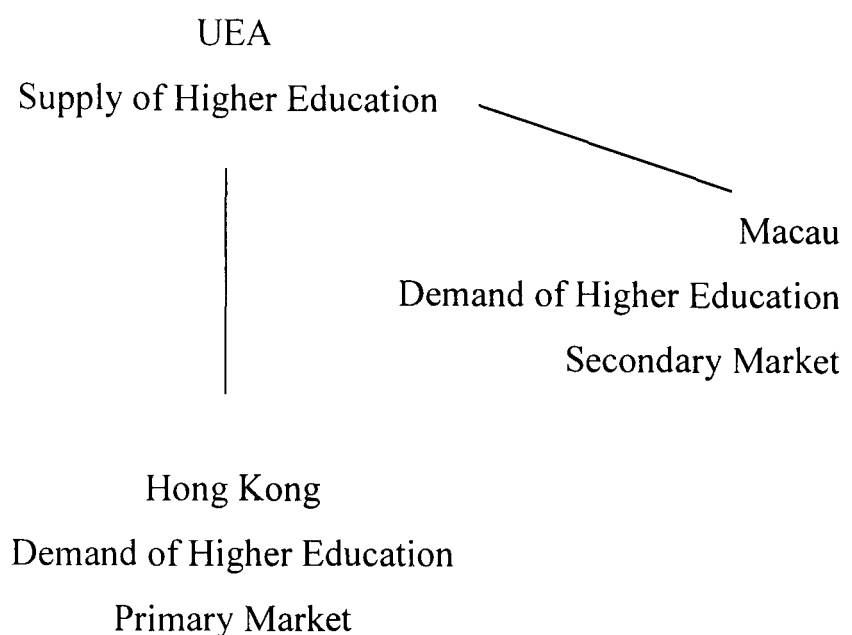


Fig. 8.1 The relationship among UEA, Hong Kong, and Macau.

Despite this fundamental difference, there are some correspondences with other contexts. Foreign impact on education development of colonies was not uncommon. In many colonies, missionaries developed education systems before the governments did. For instance, American missionaries played important roles in Korea during the Japanese occupation (Lee, 1989). But they targeted at the Korean people and not an external market. UEA was different from this format because it was a profit-making university and was distant from the local community.

Bray and Packer (1993) note that some small states allowed foreigners to operate educational institutions in order to generate income. For instance, education



was provided in Malta for the children of foreign workers in the oil industry, and the University of the Nations has established campuses in various states. But there was no implication that the Macau government could get financial benefits by allowing private founders to establish the university.

Due to its unique nature, UEA had to rely heavily on tuition fees. However, in the mid 80s it could not enrol a satisfactory number of undergraduate students for the University College. Informant #5 notes:

I understand that at one time the market did not provide sufficient students as they thought because there were problems they did not anticipate. The adherence of Hong Kong people to this project in Macau was not that enthusiastic. That was why the number of students was not that high, so they had to rely on local students at one time.

Meanwhile China and Portugal signed the Joint Declaration in 1987. This action clarified the political status of Macau. It was certain that the sovereignty would return to China in 1999 and there was a decade's time for preparation.

Compared to other Portuguese colonies, Macau enjoyed a long and stable transitional period before the change of sovereignty. Bray (2001) notes that Angola and Mozambique achieved independence after long wars, and Goa and East Timor were seized abruptly by India and Indonesia respectively. China and Portugal both emphasised the co-operative and friendly nature of the transfer of power. In order to develop more human resources for the transition and the new administration, the colonial government decided to participate actively in the development of higher education. The government purchased the university in 1988 and changed it into a public tertiary institution. In other words, the change of sovereignty was a significant intervening factor in the development of higher education. Due to this factor, the university had to modify its directions and strategies, which in turn created a whole new model.

The change of ownership was made possible by an important factor - the financial condition of UEA. If the university were making lots of profits, the founders might not have sold parts of the institution to the government. If this was

the case, the government would need to establish an entirely new university for its own purposes, and history would be different.

## **8.4 A Public University**

After the change of ownership, the university responded by making significant changes in various areas. In the following sections, these changes will be compared to the general patterns noted in the literature.

### **8.4.1 Purposes**

The most significant change of the “new” university was its purposes. As noted above, during the UEA period, the relevance of the curriculum to the local society was questionable because it was a British model university catering for Hong Kong students. After the change, its purposes were to respond to urgent political demands and to provide high-level manpower for the government. This change resonated with the general pattern that higher education was developed to meet the urgent demands of the society. For example, the Singapore colonial government opened a medical college in response to the demand from leading Chinese and other Asian leaders in 1905 (Tan, 1997).

As discussed in chapter 2, there were three critical tasks that the government had to tackle during the transitional period: the adoption of Chinese as one of the official languages, the localisation of the civil service, and the localisation of laws. In order to manage these issues, the university had to develop relevant human resources for Macau, not for Hong Kong nor other regions. Rangel (1991a, p. 315) argues: “Having accepted the responsibility of paving the way for the territory to be governed by its own people in 1999, the Administration must acknowledge that the best investment is in education, if the agreement concerning Macau’s future is to be successful.” In other words, the government admitted that it should be responsible for educating its people, and more importantly, this investment extended beyond the colonial period.

The university not only played a pragmatic role in developing students for the society, it was also an important symbol of Portuguese administration in Macau. Rangel (1989, cited in Bray and Hui, 1991, p. 308-309) notes: “The greatest heirloom that Portugal can leave in Macau should be a university built according to the modern mode. This university will be the focal point of knowledge transmission and the bridge for eastern and western communication.”

This was a significant point because the government participated in higher education when it knew that its administration would end in about ten years. Although higher education was a costly investment, the government was willing to contribute. This showed that it wanted to end its administration with high dignity and maintain a certain degree of Portuguese presence. Hui (1998) mentions that the university was a means to spread Portuguese culture and language in Macau and some moves were made to strengthen the Portuguese presence in the university.

#### **8.4.2 Structure**

The university made a significant move in turning its three-year bachelor degree system into a four-year system in 1990. The model became the same as the metropolitan model as well as the American and Chinese models. This resonates with the general pattern that the basic academic structure would follow the metropolitan model (Altbach, 1998). In addition, the four-year structure is more compatible with the local schooling system. Bray and Packer (1993) argue that this strategy could gain greater economies of scale and permit the university to expand by attracting more local students.

The name of the university was also changed from The University of East Asia to The University of Macau in 1991. This signified a stronger link with and commitment to the local community.

The change of structure not only pulled the university closer to the metropolitan pattern but also enhances its linkage with the local secondary schools and the universities in China. It paved the way for the centre-periphery relationship with Portugal and China, which will be discussed in a later section.

### 8.4.3 Curricula

The courses of the university have been expanded in order to fulfil its purposes. New faculties and programs were gradually developed to meet the demands of the society. On the one hand, this move was different to the general pattern because in most colonies, the courses offered at universities had little to do with the indigenous societies and they were biased in favour of languages and the humanities (Altbach, 1998). Bray and Packer (1993, p. 194) mention: “the courses of the University of East Asia, like those of many other private universities, were almost exclusively oriented to the arts, humanities, social sciences and business studies.” After the change, the Faculty of Science and Technology, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Education were established. These faculties all catered for the needs of the society and they provided professional and scientific development. This arrangement is similar to what happened generally in universities during the de-colonised period. For example, Singapore has laid emphasis on the development of selected technologies such as information technology, biotechnology, and artificial intelligence (Tan, 1997). The University Grants Commission of India has set up research centres, which answered the growing demands for integrating practical experience with theoretical study (Jayaram, 1997).

On the other hand, it can also be argued that the curricula were similar to that of the metropole because most of the courses offered by UM were recognised by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Informant #5 mentions:

... we managed to convince the Portuguese Ministry of Education to grant recognition to several programs, particularly programs that were similar to the ones that were operated in Portugal. All the courses in engineering, courses in FBA, the master degree in public administration, education science in Portuguese, some of the social sciences programs, law, Portuguese studies, all these programs were recognized by the Ministry of Education of Portugal. And this recognition gave us access to the European Union because once the courses of programs were recognized in Portugal, they were automatically recognized in the whole European Union.

The university was, therefore, special in the sense that its courses not only related strongly to the local demands, but also followed the metropolitan criteria.

#### **8.4.4 Connection with the Metropole**

Altbach (1998) argues colonial universities have strong contact with the metropole. The university also followed this pattern. After the transfer of ownership, it formed very close links with Portugal. As mentioned above, the Portuguese Ministry of Education started an assessment system to evaluate and recognise the courses of UM. The university also became a member of Conselho de Reitores das Universidades Portuguesas (CRUP).

However, the university also demonstrated a pattern, which was different from the general trends. In addition to its relationship with Portugal, it formed stronger relationships with universities in mainland China. There were more connections in terms of research, teacher interflow, and student interflow.

In other words, the university established close relationships with both Portuguese and Chinese universities after the change. A triangular centre-periphery structure has, therefore, been formed. Portugal and China were two centres, and Macau was at the periphery. The university depended on both countries for academic development. Many programs and research projects were conducted with their help.

This phenomenon happened because Macau was small and it had to depend on external aid for professional expertise. This is not uncommon among small states (Bray and Packer, 1993). But it was also enhanced by the relationship between Portugal and China. As noted above, both countries emphasised the friendly nature of the transfer of power and they showed high acceptance of one another in terms of academic affairs.

Nevertheless the relationship with English-speaking countries became less significant when compared with that during the UEA period. The centres of significance have been shifted to Portugal and China.

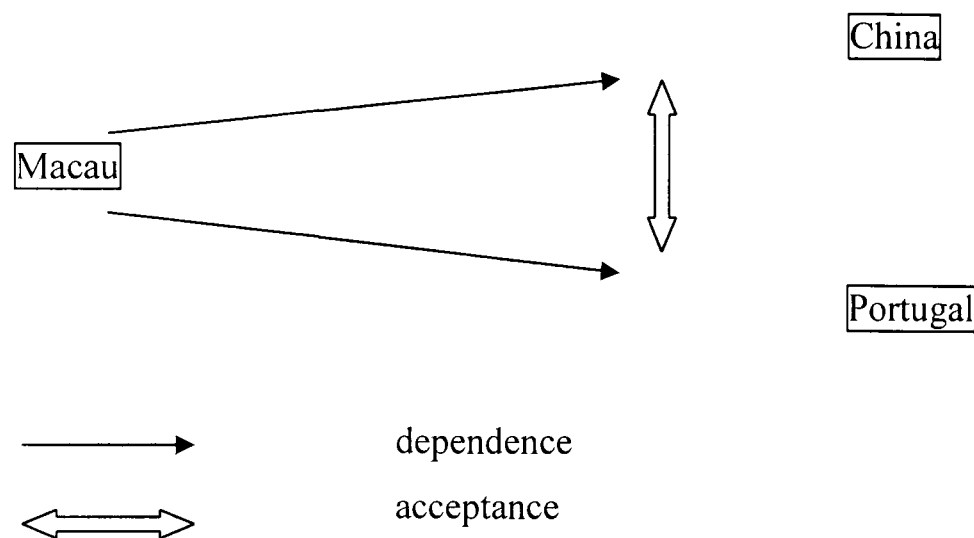


Fig 8.2 The relationship among Macau, China, and Portugal.

#### 8.4.5 Language

Colonial authorities always use their languages for higher education (Altbach, 1998). For instance, in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and India, English has been used as the medium for higher education. In Indonesia, Dutch was used as the language for higher education during the colonial era (Cummings, Malo, and Sunarto, 1997). In Taiwan, the medium of instruction was Japanese during the occupation period (Chen, 1997).

In Macau, however, English continued to be the medium of instruction for most faculties after the transfer of ownership. It was also a working language in the university. Informant #6 mentions:

But the working language was still English. Our notices and report cards were written in English. But for official documents we had to use Portuguese.

Due to the development of new courses, Portuguese and Chinese began to play more important roles. For instance, Portuguese was the major medium of instruction in the Faculty of Law and Chinese was the major medium of instruction in the Faculty of Education. The introduction of Portuguese and Chinese at these

faculties reflected the realistic need of the society. But still they could not replace the position of English.

There were two main reasons why the medium of instruction was not changed to Portuguese nor Chinese. Informant #7 argues: “They wanted this to be an international university and it was difficult to change the language unless we started everything from the beginning.”

The choice of language was also affected by the smallness of the territory. Bray and Packer (1993, p.33-34) argue: “the dependence of small economies on international trade has major implications for school curricula... It may also require pupils to learn international languages, perhaps to the detriment of local languages.”

In summary, the university selected English as the medium of instruction for economic and academic reasons rather than political reason.

#### **8.4.6 Recruitment of Staff**

Bray and Packer (*ibid.*, p.194) argue:

The majority of existing staff remained in employment, and many of the new recruits were still from outside Macau. This was a sensible strategy, because restriction of staff recruitment to local citizens would have seriously limited the range and quality of talent available.

Basically the university has retained most of the staff. But there were more teachers from Portugal and China to cope with the establishment of the Faculty of Law, the Department of Portuguese and the Department of Chinese. The Macau government recognised the professorship of Chinese scholars even though many of them did not have doctorate degrees. This policy allowed Chinese professors to enjoy equal status to their Western counterparts.

The situation in Macau partly resonates with Altbach's view that most of the academic staff would come from the metropole (1998). There were more Portuguese professors after the change of ownership. But at the same time there was also an increase in the number of professors coming from China. This phenomenon was a

manifestation of the centre-periphery structure. Both China and Portugal were important centres, which supplied expertise to the university.

#### **8.4.7 Enrolment of Students**

In most colonial universities, attention would be given to the children of the coloniser and the limited number of local elite. For instance, Taihoku University had limited quotas set for Taiwanese students (Kumnuch, 1996). In Singapore, colonial higher education only catered to students from English-medium schools and ignored those from Chinese-medium education (Tan, 1997).

In Macau, the situation was different. As discussed previously, before the change of ownership, the university mainly catered for Hong Kong students. After the change, it wanted to attract more Macau students. Due to this reason, a policy to reduce the tuition fees for local students by 40% was implemented. Since then, the number of local students has risen gradually. The university, in fact, behaved like many universities in their de-colonised periods in this aspect. For instance, in Indonesia, enrolments doubled in the first few years after independence (Cummings, Malo and Sunarto, 1997).

As for the education of the Portuguese students, the Institute of Portuguese Studies was established after the takeover by the government. However, its enrolment rate was fairly low. It was believed that most Portuguese students would prefer to further their studies in Portugal.

#### **8.4.8 Research and Development**

In most colonial universities, research and development was not strongly emphasised. Altbach (1998, p. 35) argues:

Higher education, where it was provided, was generally intended to produce loyal civil servants able to operate a bureaucracy. It was not intended to develop scientific research or to stimulate modernization.



In the Philippines, the American colonial government has generously funded tertiary institutions. However, the base of research was still weak and could not support development at higher levels (Gonzalez, 1989). In Korea, one of the objectives of Japanese education was to vocationalise the Koreans into low-level tradesmen (Lee, 1989).

In Macau, during the UEA period, some research centres were established. For example, the Centre for Macau Studies was set up in 1987. After the political change, more research which related to the local context have been conducted. The nature of research could be divided into two types. The first type referred to those projects that were participated by the university and the results of which might be benefited to the local society. For instance, the university has participated in EUREKA by working with various parties from the European Union and China.

The second type referred to research that were initiated by local organisations and the university was requested to help solve their problems. The relationship between the university and the local community grew stronger because many research results were applicable to the local society.

However, due to the smallness of Macau and the availability of talents, it was common for the university to co-operate with institutions from China and Portugal when involved in research. This was another sign of the centre-periphery structure.

Compared with other colonial universities, UM has put in lots of effort in research and development. This shows that the university leadership wanted to improve the overall standard of the university through research and to link research to the local community.

#### **8.4.9 Academic Autonomy**

Before the change of ownership, UEA was a private university. Hence, the government had little control over its operation. After the change, it became a public institution and came under the control of the Under-Secretary of Education and Youth Affairs. The government became the biggest sponsor of the university.

Altbach (1989, p. 9) argues: “Colonial authorities were very much concerned about the loyalty of the universities and of their graduates and students, and considerable efforts were made to ensure the loyalty and to weed out undesirable elements.”

But what constitutes autonomy is arguable. Berdahl (1990, cited in Goedegebuure et al., 1994) suggests several definitions.

- Academic freedom is that freedom of the individual scholar in his/her teaching and research to pursue truth wherever it seems to lead without fear of punishment or termination of employment for having offended some political, religious or social orthodoxy.
- Substantive autonomy is the power of the university or college in its corporate form to determine its own goals and programmes – the “what” of academe.
- Procedural autonomy is the power of the university or college in its corporate form to determine the means by which its goals and programmes will be pursued – the “how” of academe.

These definitions would be helpful in analysing the relationship between the university and the government. In general, ‘academic freedom’ was not affected. Teachers were free to teach and research without fear of punishment or termination of employment. Informant #1 notes:

The colonial government did not provide any guidelines for the academic pursuit of the university... But informally, some scholars might be more cautious if they had to do some research works, which related to Portugal or the government.

‘Substantive autonomy’ was also not affected. Informant #5 mentions: “For curriculum development, we left to the deans.” The government did not interfere with this aspect.

However, the government exerted its control over the procedural autonomy. Informant #5 notes:

The government had a close control on the administration, particularly the government felt that if they were spending hundreds of millions in the university, they had to be assured that the money was well spent. The tight control was mainly on the administration. But when you said administration, it's academic administration. For example, the government said you could not spend money on that program. The academics felt that the government was controlling their academic freedom.

The university had to rely on the government for its financial resources and to comply with the official procedures after the laws of higher education were enacted. The government could affect the development of courses through the granting of funds.

However, conflicts either between teachers and the university authority or between the university and the government were few. This attitude was related to the social culture of the territory. The atmosphere of Macau was gentle and rather passive towards politics. The people might not be satisfied with the government but few would speak out. Hence, the atmosphere in the academic community was also less critical and few scholars would criticise the government severely. Within this context, the government perhaps might feel less threatened and adopted a more *laissez-faire* approach towards the university.

Some informants saw this as a natural development of the university becoming public and did not feel any pressure from the government. But some were dissatisfied with the loss of authority and the inflexibility of the bureaucracy. In general, the government has set up the mechanism to control the university through the development of laws and procedures. This would be similar to what happened in other colonial universities (Altbach, 1989). However, in Macau, it was difficult to judge whether the government has really used them to intervene in academic matters because self-censorship might have been practised by some teachers.

## **8.5 After the Change of Sovereignty**

When colonies gained independence, many universities started the process of indigenisation. One significant modification was language. In Malaysia, the medium

of instruction was changed from English to Bahasa Malaysia. In Indonesia, institutions were determined to carry out their education and research in the new national language of Bahasa Indonesia (Cummings, Malo, and Sunarto (1997). Academic freedom has also been partially restricted in some Asian countries. In Singapore, Malaysia and Taiwan, certain topics were considered highly sensitive for research (Altbach, 1989).

On the other hand, some elements of Western influence remained intact (Altbach, 1998):

- The influence of the English language is strong.
- A large number of Asian academics were educated in the West.
- There was a large number of expatriate professors.
- Textbooks were imported from the West.
- Western journals were significant sources of knowledge.
- Academic hierarchies, the structure, the system of exam, were Western in origin.

Besides these features, Asian higher education is also facing challenges in several areas. Postiglione (1997, p. xvi) notes: “All have budgets to balance, standards to maintain, faculties to satisfy, and demands from the public to meet.”

Compared with these general trends, UM shows both similarities and differences. In terms of indigenisation, the university continues to develop courses that respond to the need of the local society. At the same time, Western influence remains strong. For instance, English is still the chief medium of instruction. As discussed above, Macau is small and its economy depends on external markets. For very practical reason, it cannot abandon the use of English.

### **8.5.1 Purposes**

In terms of objective, no significant change was observed. As noted in chapter 7, the university continues to strive for better quality as well as stronger connection with the international academic network. It is responsible for the development of human

resources for the need of the society. Similar to many developing countries in East Asia, higher education is seen as an important agent to promote economic changes (Bray and Lee, 2001).

The reason why there is no critical change is because the process of bringing the university closer to the society and promoting its connection with regional and international communities has already been progressing before the change of sovereignty. The political change did not have a strong impact on the academic direction of the university. The university continues to improve its standards in various areas, such as teaching and research.

### **8.5.2 Expansion and Budget**

Many countries experienced dramatic expansion of higher education during the decolonised period. For instance, during the first several years of independence, the enrolments have at least doubled each successive year in Indonesia (Cummings, Malo, and Sunarto, 1997). In Malaysia, the number of students has increased from 3,603 in 1966/67 to 37,838 in 1985 (Lee, 1997).

In Macau, according to the Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos, the number of higher education establishments has increased from 9 in 1999/2000 to 11 in 2001/2002. The number of students enrolled in higher education has increased from 7,094 in 1999/2000 to 8,520 in 2001/2002. This pattern fitted the general trends.

But it is also important to note that the expansion of higher education has started since the early 1990s. During this period, several new institutions, such as the United Nations University's International Institute for Software Technology, the Institute for Tourism Studies, the Institute of European Studies, the Inter-University Institute of Macau, were formed. Compared with other regions, expansion of higher education in Macau started earlier. This was due to the policy of the colonial government rather than the SAR government. During the last decade of the colonial era, the government wanted to produce lots of human resources. Therefore, it did not control the expansion of the sector.

Hong Kong has also experienced similar expansion during the end of the colonial period. It has changed from a society with two elite universities to a transitional society with seven publicly funded universities and colleges. However, the main difference between the two places was that most of the institutions in Macau were private, although the government did make some financial contributions to them.

Regarding the University of Macau itself, the number of enrolled students increased every year. As for the budget of the university, a gradual increase was observed since the late 1990s.

Table 8.1 Number of enrolled students, 1999/2000-2002/2003.

Year	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003
Students	3,128	3,223	4,171	5,020

Table 8.2 Government grants to UM (million patacas), 1998-2003

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Amount	166.25	186	190	190	210	210

According to Bray (2002) education received 9.8% of the budget in 1999 and 12.9% in 2000. He argues that more resources could be contributed because in many countries education was the largest item in government budgets. Regarding the distribution of resources between lower levels of education and higher education, it was noted 27% of the education budget went to the higher education sector in 2000. This was a better than average figure when compared with that of various countries.

Similar to the general pattern, higher education in Macau has expanded in terms of the number of institutions as well as the total number of enrolled students in UM.

### 8.5.3 Courses

After the political change, the new programs offered in the university were closely connected to the economic and social demands. In 1999/2000, there were one new

masters degree course and four bachelor degree courses. All of them were offered by the Faculty of Education. In general, the courses were more related to the economic situation of the city rather than the political needs.

#### **8.5.4 Language**

As noted earlier, language choice was a key issue in the indigenisation of Asian higher education. Many countries adopted their original languages as national languages after independence. In Macau, Chinese is one of the official languages. The other is Portuguese. But English remains the principal language of instruction in higher education. This is because the city is small and it has to rely strongly on the international network both economically and academically. Bray (1992a) argues that small countries rely heavily on international trade and this may require students to learn international languages. This applies to Macau where tourism is the most important industry.

Altbach (1989) notes that English is the predominant language in the worldwide academic arena and every Asian nation must cope with its importance. The university cannot overlook this situation but has to follow the pattern. Books and journals are purchased from the Western nations, many staff was educated overseas, and expatriate professors are employed. The university also works closely with European institutions as well as mainland organisations. As mentioned by informant #4, “internationalisation” is one of the most cherished features of the university. It distinguishes the university from other mainland universities.

Chinese and Portuguese are used in some courses due to the practical needs of the students and the environment. But it is speculated that they will not replace the status of English, at least not in the foreseeable future.

#### **8.5.5 Quality**

As noted above, higher education expanded rapidly during the end of the colonial period in Hong Kong. This expansion caused a decrease in the average student

ability levels and demands for more effective teaching methods. This is a common feature in many post-colonial universities. In Indonesia, one of the themes of post-colonial higher education was quantity over quality (Cummings, Malo and Sunarto, 1997). In Malaysia, the focus was on the expansion of an ethnically balanced manpower at all levels and this resulted in shortages of quality manpower in certain areas (Jasbir, 1989, cited in Lee, 1997).

UM has also taken measures to maintain the quality of input, for instance, the recruitment of Ph.D. holders as teachers and the provision of scholarships to students with good performance. Feedback from students on all courses has been collected systematically since 1997/98 (Bray, 2002). However, a comprehensive approach to guarantee the teaching quality and output has not yet been completed.

One of the central debates of education in small states is how much should be done internally and how much should they rely on external sources (Brock, 1988, Bray and Packer, 1993). This argument can also be applied to the aspect of quality assurance. On the one hand, the university can impose some internal policies for the maintenance of quality. On the other hand, it can use some external criteria to guide its own standards.

As discussed above, UM maintains its relationship with CRUP though it is no longer a university on Portuguese soil. The Portuguese Ministry of Education agrees to carry on the procedure of accreditation of courses offered by UM. This is an external mechanism that guarantees courses, which have been recognised by the Portuguese Ministry, have in fact reach the standard demanded by the European Union. In other words, this relationship leads to the international recognition of the university.

The concern for quality improvement also comes from competition with other universities. UM has grown from the sole university in Macau to one of the various tertiary institutions in the tiny territory. Competition with these institutions is getting stronger and stronger. In addition to local institutions, a significant number of students are registered in programs operated in Macau by universities based in mainland China (Bray, 2002). To improve one's standard is the best way to attract students. Therefore, quality will always be a critical concern.



### 8.5.6 Academic Freedom

Altbach (1989) notes that academic freedom is an accepted norm of the West, but in many Asian countries it has been constrained by political authorities. For instance, in Taiwan, topics related to mainland China were subject to political control. In Malaysia and Singapore, ethnic and religious issues have to be treated with considerable care.

As discussed previously, the colonial government of Macau has established a system to control the procedural autonomy of the university. This policy has carried on to the new government. The university has to follow rigid administrative procedures for the approval and amendments of course plans and budgets. However, when compared to other countries, some informants still consider this approach reasonable because they did not feel the university has seriously and negatively intervened with their teachings and research. In other words, academic freedom was sustained.

The university formed a Charter Revision Task Force in July 2002. The Chief Executive appointed Dr. Daniel Chi Wai Tse, the former President of Baptist University of Hong Kong, as the Chairman of the University Council who also chaired the task force. The key missions of the charter revision were autonomy and openness. In an interview with the university newsletter (Pang and Tai, 2003), Tse mentions:

After all, we are spending tax payers' money; we have to be more open so that anyone would be able to know and verify what we are doing... We want to have a new culture of openness where nothing is hidden.

This move resonated with the international debate of autonomy and accountability. Altbach (1998, p. 18) argues:

Demands for accountability are growing and will cause academic institutions considerable difficulty. As academic budgets expand, there are inevitable demands to monitor and control expenditures. At present,

no general agreement exists concerning the appropriate level of governmental involvement in higher education. The challenge will be to ensure that the traditional – and valuable – patterns of faculty control over governance and the basic academic decisions in universities are maintained in a complex and bureaucratic environment.

The work of the charter revision is still processing and is expected to finish within 2003.

### **8.5.7 Relationship with Portugal**

The Third World imports much more knowledge than it exports (Altbach, 1984). In terms of developing knowledge, it relies heavily on industrialised nations. This form of dependence created chances for neo-colonial activities. Neo-colonialism refers to the continuing domination, direct or indirect, of the industrialised nations over the Third World. In a variety of ways, the Third World is still under the influence of former colonial powers. Education is no exception.

Law (1997b) argues that in Hong Kong, the British have created new mechanisms to retain their interests in the territory. First, English was reinforced as the medium of instruction in higher education. Second, new links were developed with British higher education. Scholarships were set up for students to pursue their first-degree or postgraduate studies in the UK. A UK-Hong Kong Joint Research Scheme was established by the British Council and the Hong Kong Research Grants Council. The third measure was the empowerment of the University Grants Committee, which had a high overseas, particularly British-related, membership.

In Macau, two institutions, which had connection with Portugal, were formed in the late 1990s. One was the Inter-University Institute of Macau (IIUM). It was a joint venture formed by the Catholic University of Portugal and the Diocese of Macau. The other was the Institute for European Studies of Macau (IEEM). It was established as a private institution with public partners, such as the Macau government, the University of Macau, and the Macau Foundation. It has linkage with the Portuguese Ministry of Education, which recognises its degrees. Although these institutions have connection with Portugal, they do not dominate the higher

education sector. Their enrolments were few compared with that of UM. In addition, both of them use English as the medium of instruction instead of Portuguese.

Table 8.3 Number of enrolments in IIUM and IEEM, 1997/1998 – 2000/2001

Year	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001
IIUM	198	129	231	175
IEEM	39	52	83	83

Source: Bray (2002)

Within the University of Macau, the strongest linkage with Portugal is the accreditation of UM degrees by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. As noted earlier, this process has not been terminated due to the political change. But this is not a pure form of domination. In fact, the university is pleased that the process is continued. It is because when the degrees are recognised by the Portuguese Ministry, they are also recognised by other EU member countries. This step would lead to wider international recognition.

As discussed earlier, the university began to co-operate with Portuguese institutions for teaching and research after the change of ownership. Similar to the accreditation, this trend has not ended after the political change. For instance, the university continues to participate in the Eureka science and technology research co-organised by Europe and mainland China.

The university has not stopped promoting Portuguese language and culture. But there are problems about the enrolment size. Very often the university could not receive enough students to open the relevant courses.

In summary, the impact of Portuguese neo-colonialism on the university is not strong. The local people could accept or reject the elements according to their own needs. The university is also happy to continue its linkage with the academic community of Portugal.

Although the Portuguese presence in the university is not strong, the university is seriously affected by Western elements. For instance, the medium of instruction is English. The structure is a Western model. Many local staff was

educated overseas and many expatriates are employed. These are features that resonate with Altbach's observations. These neo-colonial elements were intentionally selected by the university, not imposed by the coloniser, to sustain its own standards and development. In other words, the university has the initiative to choose what is suitable for itself.

#### **8.5.8 Relationship with China**

Many colonies gained sovereign independence after their colonial periods. The governments of these new states often emphasised the mission of nation building and education was a key tool for this task. In Taiwan, the Three Principles of the People and military training were created as general courses in all tertiary institutions due to the political condition of the region (Wu, Chen, and Wu, 1989). In Indonesia, one of the foci of higher education was its harmony with the state. Universities played an important role in the founding of the republic, and they were expected to play a sustainable role in the future development of the country (Cummings, Malo, and Sunarto, 1997).

Macau is reintegrated with China after the change. This arrangement is similar to that of Hong Kong. Bray (1997) argues that this might be the most striking feature, which distinguished Hong Kong's situation from that of other colonial territories. The same argument can be applied to Macau. This type of transition is not one of decolonisation so much as recolonisation (Scott, 1995, cited in Bray, *ibid.*).

Law (1997b, p. 42) notes: "Recolonisation is concerned with the institutionalization of national sovereignty among the subject people by the incoming sovereign power." He argues that several measures have been taken by the PRC government to recolonise Hong Kong's higher education:

- The Hong Kong government began to incorporate PRC academics into its higher education to represent the PRC's interests.
- The PRC government has opened up the application for National Natural Science Award to ethnic Chinese scientists based in Hong Kong and Macau.

- The PRC government hosted visits by higher education policy makers and executives from Hong Kong.
- The PRC government appointed Hong Kong university executives and academics into the PRC-controlled political committees for handling the takeover of Hong Kong.

In Macau, the relationship between China and Macau has been traditionally good. Even before the political change, the university had close connection with mainland universities and academics. For example, two rectors were Chinese scholars. Chinese academics were employed to teach in the university. Research projects were jointly run by UM and several mainland institutions.

Nevertheless, all informants perceive these activities as ordinary academic exchanges and not political influences. When asked whether the central government has exerted any means to intervene in higher education, all answers were negative. In other words, the participants themselves did not see these activities as signs of recolonisation.

Informant #7 suggested that higher education policy would only be determined by the Secretary or the Chief Executive and would not reach the central government. The reason was that China has adopted the “one country two systems” policy in Macau and it would not interfere in the internal affairs of the territory.

Informant #4 mentioned that Hong Kong and Macau were role models of this principle, which China wanted to use to reunite Taiwan. The central government would not be so unwise to violate the principle because this would adversely affect its ultimate objective of reunification. All informants felt that the SAR government was the policy-maker of higher education issues,

Bray and Packer (1993, p.240) argue: “Decision-makers must also come to grips with thorny issues of nationalism.” Many small states like Tonga and Western Samoa were determined to sustain their national arts and languages through education. Comparatively, within the context of decolonisation, UM has taken a more informal and voluntary approach in developing nationalism among students. For example, interflow activities were organised between the university and mainland

institutions. As informant #3 pointed out that the sense of nationalism should be developed through the actual experiences of the students and not just in the form of classroom teaching.

Law (1997b) argues that the recolonising measures have intensified the tension between the accommodation and resistance in Hong Kong higher education before the handover. The resistance was expressed in public protest and the political competition between intervarsity student associations.

In Macau, since the “recolonising” measures are not perceived as forms of domination, there is no resistance. This is a special feature, which distinguishes Macau from Hong Kong. As mentioned earlier in previous chapters as well as this chapter, Macau exhibits different characteristics of colonisation.

- The Portuguese adopted a long-term laissez-faire approach towards the territory and a gap was formed between the administration and the general public.
- Most citizens were indifferent towards politics and very few were inclined to the colonisers.
- Since the 1960s pro-communist organisations have consolidated their standing in Macau.
- Many people felt that the change of sovereignty was a change for the better.
- The relationship between China and Portugal has been comparatively friendlier during the transition period than between the UK and China during the Hong Kong transition.

All these factors have created a better atmosphere for the transition as well as a less resistant attitude towards the Chinese government after the change.

## **8.6 Summary of the Analysis**

The university shared several similarities with typical colonial institutions. First, no matter it was during the colonial or post-colonial administration, the university was

largely based on Western model. Altbach (1998, p. 255) rightly argues: "...there is no 'Third World' university, only Western transplants."

Second, higher education was closely tied to the economic development. Countries like Singapore (Gopinathan, 1989) and Taiwan (Wu, Chen, and Wu, 1989) considered the training of manpower to be a major preoccupation. Macau was no exception. The major role of the university both before and after the change of sovereignty was the development of human resources for the local society. Correspondingly courses were developed to respond to this direction.

Third, there were conflicts between the accountability that the government desired and the autonomy that the academics needed. For example, the Singaporean government plays a dominant interventionist role in controlling and directing major policy decisions concerning the higher education institutions (Tan, 1997). In Macau, as discussed in chapter 7, although conflicts were not serious, there were different views on this issue. The university has organised a Charter Revision Task Force to oversee this area with the hope that decision-making can be more transparent.

Fourth, Macau also faces the issue of expansion and quality improvement as experienced by other Asian countries (Bray and Lee, 1997). The number of local tertiary institutions as well as the enrolment sizes has expanded since the 1990s. This trend has extended into the new century. Therefore, the university has to devise strategies to improve its quality in order to attract more students.

Despite these commonalities, the university illustrated several major differences from the general patterns. These features showed that the generalisations, which can be found in the theory of colonial and post-colonial higher education, need further testing.

First, the university demonstrated characteristics of a typical colonial university when the government took it over from the private founders. But that was already near the end of the colonial period. The university had only a decade's time to serve the colonial government.

Second, the university developed high-level manpower not only for the colonial government, but also for the new administration.

Third, besides developing a strong relationship with Portugal, the university also built a close relationship with China. This was an unusual centre-periphery structure where there were two centres that supported one periphery. This could also be considered as an early sign of de-colonisation.

Fourth, Portugal and China maintained a friendly relationship during Macau's transitional period and this allowed the university to develop in a generally stable environment.

Fifth, after the change of sovereignty, the university did not make dramatic changes in removing the Portuguese elements. In fact, most colonial practices have been carried forward into the new era with slight variations.

Sixth, all informants felt that China has not intervened in the higher education sector. Although there were more communications and interflows with mainland universities, there was no control or influence from the Chinese government. In other words, the "one country, two systems" policy has been successfully implemented in the university.

## **8.7 Suggestions for Future Development**

The University of Macau has gone through twenty years of changes. It shows both commonalities and diversities with the general trends. In order to have a positive development in the future, it has to make the best use of its own strengths. In the following sections, several issues will be discussed with the aim that the university can expand its own distinctiveness.

### **8.7.1 Internationalisation, Nationalisation, and Localisation**

One of the most remarkable points in the development of the university is the centre-periphery relationship that it has developed with both Portugal and China. This relationship not only enables the university to develop in the colonial period; it also maintains influences in the new era. This is a privilege that no other university in the mainland or in Hong Kong can enjoy.



The Portuguese Ministry of Education continues the assessment system, which allows accreditation of UM courses. In addition, the university is an invited member of CRUP. These two connections are valuable to the university because it enhances communication not only with Portugal but also the European Union. Although these are neo-colonising elements, they should be considered as constructive rather than exploitative agents.

Besides Portugal, the other centre is China. China has been supporting the university since the 1980s, i.e. long before the change of sovereignty, in various ways. For example, the Education Department would send teachers to the university when requested and many research projects were jointly conducted by UM and mainland institutions. These types of academic co-operations have been continued after 1999. An interesting point to note is that none of the informants considered these activities “re-colonising”. They considered them generous support from mainland universities.

Connections with both Portugal and China are necessary because Macau is small and local manpower is still limited. This is a common feature for many small states (Brock, 1988). The university shows that dependency can be managed as a nurturing element for evolvment and consolidation.

Meanwhile, the issue of localisation should not be disregarded. On the one hand, research that are related to the local context need to be encouraged. This is because context-based research is unique and cannot be effectively done in other places. The university can play a role in contributing something distinctive to the international academic world.

On the other hand, academic staff need not be localised. In some countries, their governments replace expatriates with local scholars. For instance, Selvaratnam (1989) notes that the expatriate academic community has been gradually replaced by a Malaysian academic community. This is something that Macau needs not follow because the university is part of an international network.

Informant #4 remarks:

Macau is too small to have localisation of human resources. Only civil service needs to be localised. For the other areas, this is not necessary.

If strong emphasis has been placed on localising the academic staff, the internationalisation of the university will be weakened. Instead, the university should seek a balanced mix of local, national, and international academics.

Informant #4 mentions:

The University of Macau should not become a Portuguese university. It should neither become a Chinese university... It must become an international university... The recruitment of staff should not be limited to China.

Informant #6 also feels that strong emphasis should be placed on internationalising higher education.

Macau is an international port and it is easy to travel to different areas of the world... Of course, we have to admit that there is support from mainland China... But we also need to import things from the West... including language... either English or Portuguese.

Mazrui (1984) argues that a fundamental problem of many colonies is how to decolonise the process of modernisation without ending it. Macau also faces this challenge. In order to perform effectively as a SAR, it has to re-assess its position. The political guideline of Macau in the new era is the “one country, two system” principle. Education-wise, Macau needs to develop both in localisation as well as internationalisation. These two concepts are not contradictory but complementary. Macau should make the best use of its hybrid nature to develop its own competitiveness.

### **8.7.2 Quality**

During the 1990s, there was an expansion in the number of local tertiary institutions. This was a huge transformation when compared with the situation before the 1980s when higher education was totally absent. The expansion came early in Macau when it was still a territory under Portuguese administration. Hong Kong experienced a similar phenomenon, but all the universities were public. In Macau, there was a mix of public and private institutions.

The expansion caused the high transition rate from secondary to tertiary education, including non-local institutions, to exceed 80% (Bray, 2002). This would in turn lower the average quality in intakes. Because of these, the issue of quality education is important particularly for two related reasons. First, the process to improve these students becomes crucial in order to maintain the standard of output. Second, the university has to build a quality reputation in order to attract enough students.

In fact, quality is a broad issue. It may refer to inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes. It can refer to the attainment of specific objectives. It can also refer to the extent to which education has influenced change in student knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviours (Chapman and Adams, 2002).

For the time being, the university has emphasised more on the inputs. Informant #3 notes:

There are various areas. First of all, we need a group of better students... Second, we want to increase the number of teachers who have got doctorate degrees... We cannot say Ph.D. holders must be good teachers but they have higher knowledge level... In addition, we hope to work with our alumni to improve our students' awareness of the competitive world.

The university now recruits more Ph. D. holders in order to improve the teaching quality. Although a doctorate degree is not a guarantee for good teaching, it is a very visible element for evaluation. The number of doctorate degree holders in UM has increased rapidly during these years. According to the Activities Report (2000), the proportion of lecturers holding Ph. D. degrees has increased from 24.1% in year 1999 to 31.8% in the year 2000.

Informant #3 mentions that the only method to improve quality is to employ good teachers. He notes:

In order to have good teachers, the government should set a higher salary rate for UM teachers... If the government wants to make UM the best university the only way is to hire the best professors.

Informant #7 notices that the psychological factor of the teachers is very important. He says:

Unless we have hired teachers who are not qualified... If dedication is enough, I don't think the teaching quality will be poor. If your teaching is poor, it means that you have not input sufficient effort.

He also argues that the mentality and attitude of students also affect the outcomes.

Many students attend lectures only to earn grades. They haven't really learned the materials. When they enter the labour market, people will notice this... It is a matter of attitude. To these students, the traditional teaching method may not be sufficient... Another problem is that more people can receive higher education nowadays. Classes are bigger, therefore, teaching quality will be affected.

On the other hand, informant #4 noted that the university has given up measures that might improve quality through better processes. He argued that the university has abandoned the external examiner system, which was effectively used during the UEA period. Bray (2002) expressed a similar argument. He mentioned that it was part of a culture change as the university shifted from a British model to a Portugal model and was more connected to the local context. Although the external examiner system was far from perfect, it was worth considering whether to re-establish it because it allowed more international experts to participate in the process.

The responses from the informants show that they were all concerned about quality education but none of them presented a comprehensive discussion on the matter. Chapman and Adams (2002, p.2) rightly argue:

As an education system grows and the number of stakeholders and clients involved in education decisions change, the potential for misunderstanding, disagreement, and conflict regarding the meaning of quality increases. Full agreement among parents, teachers, administrators, and students as to the ingredients of quality, how to measure it, and how to initiate and sustain improvement is unlikely.

However, it is exactly for this same reason, that the university should address the issue as soon as possible and allow a better communication among different stakeholders.

### **8.7.3 Accountability and Autonomy**

Altbach (1998, p. 18) argues that one of the challenges facing universities nowadays is “to ensure that the traditional – and valuable – patterns of faculty control over governance and the basic academic decisions in universities are maintained in a complex and bureaucratic environment.”

Most informants did not feel that the university has excessively controlled the academic autonomy of the teachers. However, they did express their disappointment with the inflexibility of certain administrative procedures, such as the amendments of budgets and course plans.

On the other hand, the university charter is currently being revised. This is an activity, which will significantly affect the operation of the university. The objective of this project is to improve the autonomy and transparency of the university. Whether the new charter could create a better transparent academic environment will have a serious long-term impact on the university.

According to the university newsletter (Pang and Tai, 2003), in order to achieve the mission, the University Council was set up. It was made up of leaders of the university, government executives and community leaders. The Council represents the university’s administrative and academic affairs. The university should be directed by the university, the government and the community together. The advantage of this approach is that the community and government will ensure that the university is doing something that is worthwhile to the society. But it is also dangerous that the university will only become a follower of social and commercial demands, and not a creator of academic values and ethics.

For example, the National University of Singapore has been criticised as “an instrument under the clear influence of the political establishment and an agent of government policy” (Gopinathan, 1989, p. 222). The pattern of its courses and the

student recruitment policies are those as articulated by the government. Knowledge that does not fit the manpower orientation of the moment was not supported. Tertiary institutions are no longer needed for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. This is something questionable about its academic development.

Comparatively, in Macau, the relationship between the university and the government has been co-operative. Therefore, the charter revision task force must be very careful in establishing mechanisms that would not deteriorate this pattern. Due to the nature of Macau's social atmosphere, it is suggested that the government can delegate more authority to the university leadership. Bray (2002, p. 42) makes a similar observation:

It is arguable that some aspects are over-centralised and that they undesirably restrict the autonomy of institutions in matters of management. Also, in the past, many far-reaching decisions have been made only on technical grounds and without significant heed to the overall shape and nature of the higher education system.

In summary, there are three points that the university must consider in order to have a better development in the future. They are a well-balanced mix of internationalisation, nationalisation, and localisation, a comprehensive plan for quality education, and a greater degree of delegation from the government.

## **8.8 Further Research**

Education is a process, not a snapshot. This research project has taken more than four years to complete. During this period, the university is constantly evolving and is difficult to capture with a written document. As noted several times in the thesis, the university is currently revising the charter. This task is expected to bring significant changes in the future. This is an area, which is definitely worth investigating.

Due to limited resources, this research captures the relationship between the change of sovereignty and the development of the University of Macau. Only seven

interviews were conducted. Many important actors have not been contacted due to time as well as geographical restraint.

Besides the University of Macau, there are several tertiary institutions that have undergone the political transition. Their developments are equally interesting and can provide meaningful comparisons to the existing literature. There are also some private institutions, the nature of which should be different from the public universities. Altbach (1999, p.1) mentions: "A combination of unprecedented demand for access to higher education and the inability or unwillingness of governments to provide the necessary support has brought private higher education to the forefront." Although these institutions occupy a small part in the local higher education sector, their quantity is increasing. Therefore, this is a significant theme for further research.

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## **Appendix**

### **List of Interview Questions**

- What were the chief forces that shaped higher education during the colonial period?
- As a private university, what were the goals of the University of East Asia?
- As a private university, what was the relationship between UEA and the government?
- Why did the government develop higher education in the last decade of the colonial period?
- How were the new purposes of the university reflected?
- Was there any change in the structure of the university?
- What about curriculum development?
- What about the language of instruction?
- What about the recruitment of staff?
- What about the admission of students?
- What was the relationship between the university and the Portuguese academic community after the purchase?
- What was the relationship between the university and the Chinese academic community after the purchase?
- Was there any change in the degree of academic autonomy after the change of ownership?
- How did the local people react to the change of ownership?
- What was the degree of localisation of knowledge before and after the change of ownership?
- Were there any changes in the purposes of higher education after the change of sovereignty?
- Has the government invested more resources for the expansion of the university after the political change?
- Were there more courses developed to fit the political and economic growth of

the territory?

- Has English continued to be the chief medium of instruction?
- Has Chinese become more important?
- Has Portuguese become less important?
- Have there been more concerns about improving the quality of education?
- Why it seems that in many areas, such as government intervention, there aren't many significant changes after the political change?
- What is the relationship between UM and the Portuguese academic community after the handover?
- Has the Portuguese government imposed any policies to protect its interests in higher education?
- After the political change, has China exerted more influence on the university?  
Will there be more co-operation and interflow?
- Were there more concerns to strengthen the knowledge about China after the handover?
- Has there been resistance against the influence from China?
- How should the university develop in the future?

